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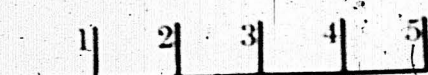
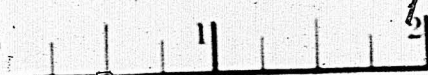
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A thesis on

SOME ASPECTS OF EMIGRATION FROM
IRELAND TO THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES
BETWEEN 1660 AND 1775

submitted for the degree of

M.Litt.,

Trinity College, Dublin

by

Audrey Lockhart

Summer 1971



I declare that this thesis has not
been submitted as an exercise for a
degree at this or any other University.

I further declare that this thesis is
entirely my own work.

Audrey Lockhart
15 June 1971

PREFACE

Much is known and has been written about emigration from Ireland to North America in the nineteenth century, especially after the Great Famine. The large emigration of mainly Presbyterians or Scotch-Irish, as they came to be called, from Ulster to the American colonies in the eighteenth century has also received due attention. Some doubt and controversy still surround the emigration of Roman Catholics from Ireland to North America during the colonial period. This, when it is conceded to have taken place at all, has either been dismissed as negligible or is represented as having been much greater than the facts will allow. Just as the Scotch-Irish of colonial and revolutionary America have had their devotees, so the native Irish have been vested by their historians with numbers and achievements for which there is not sufficient evidence.

The major difficulties in the way of an accurate assessment of emigration from Ireland to colonial North America are that very sparsity of records, especially on this side of the Atlantic, the diffuse nature of so many manuscript sources on the subject and the problems of obtaining access to some of those that do exist. Other difficulties will be indicated in the course of the work itself.

The main purpose of this thesis has not been to score points for any ethnic group but, by concentrating on the three southern provinces of the country between 1660 and 1775, to give some indications of who they were who went from Ireland to North America in that period, how they went and a general appraisal of their impact

on colonial and revolutionary America. No conclusive estimate of their numbers can at present be made.

While this work inevitably focuses on emigration to those colonies which became the United States of America, other colonies, particularly the islands of Newfoundland and the West Indies, have not been disregarded. Many people from Ireland disembarked in these places and some of them later migrated to the mainland.

My thanks are due to Professor T. W. Moody who introduced me to this subject many years ago and to Dr. L. M. Cullen who has supervised me during the final stages of research and the writing of this thesis.

I am also grateful for their help and courtesy to the staff of various libraries where I have worked over a number of years. Ideally some research for this subject should have been done in the United States. However, the Institute of Historical Research of the University of London has provided me with the best substitute for that on this side of the Atlantic. I am, therefore, deeply indebted to all concerned, and especially to Mr. Taylor Milne, for allowing me to make use of the very extensive collections of published colonial records that are placed there. Research into these is by no means exhausted but they have helped considerably in giving some weight and balance to this thesis.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

A.H.R.	American Historical Review.
B.M.	British Museum.
Cal.S.P.(Inc.)	Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland.
Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.)	Calendar of State Papers relating to America and the West Indies.
Cal.H.O. Papers	Calendar of Home Office Papers.
Dict. Am. Biog.	Dictionary of American Biography.
Dict. Am. Hist.	Dictionary of American History.
Dict. Nat. Biog.	Dictionary of National Biography.
Jn.Am.Ir.H.S.	Journal of the American Irish Historical Society.
Jn.R.S.A.I.	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland.
P.C.	Privy Council.
P.R.O.	Public Record Office.
Recs. Va. Co.	Records of the Virginia Company.
R.I.A.	Royal Irish Academy.
T.B.	Treasury Books.
T.B. & P.	Treasury Books and Papers.
T.P.	Treasury Papers.
T. & P.	Trade and Plantations.
T.S.P.I.	Transcript of State Papers relating to Ireland.
Wm. & M. Q.	William and Mary Quarterly.

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CHAPTER I

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EMIGRATION FROM IRELAND TO NORTH AMERICA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Throughout history people have usually emigrated either because of adverse conditions, often of temporary duration, in the home country or because of the attractions of the receiving country. In the case of emigration from Ireland to North America during the colonial period, these were at times and together powerful influences, but not the only ones. Several factors, both constant and peculiar to Ireland, helped to determine the nature and extent of emigration to colonial America.

Ireland's geographical position, its rural economy and its ties with the colonising power combined to provide the country with a special role in the development of the English maritime empire. Certain connections between Ireland and the New World can be traced back to the sixteenth century and these were to remain effective throughout the colonial period.

Between Elizabethan times and the end of the eighteenth century no significant progress took place in the form or speed of sea transport, the only means of transatlantic communication. The main shipping lanes between England, as well as other countries of north-west Europe, and North America passed to the south of Ireland. Storm-bound or damaged ships, either inward or outward bound, could take advantage of Ireland's forward Atlantic position. By 1600 the southern Irish havens, the convenience of which had been noticed by

Hakluyt,⁽¹⁾ had been written into the history of some of the voyages of exploration - Sir Humphrey Gilbert's first voyage broke up at Kinsale, for example.⁽²⁾ The Newfoundland fishing fleets regularly passed close to the Irish coast and, in time, the rich pastoral lands of southern Ireland and the cheapness of their produce ensured that the ports there became something more than mere anchorages. The English fisheries, and, from 1613, their attendant naval squadron, played a vital part in the colonisation of North America while Ireland became a supply base, of both victuals and men, for the Newfoundland fisheries.⁽³⁾

As the colonial empire expanded, the southern counties of Ireland prospered on the victualling of more and more outward bound vessels and also on the production of provisions and other commodities for the overseas settlements. These developments were in progress by 1620; by then Virginian tobacco was being exchanged for Irish beef, livestock and stockings.⁽⁴⁾ After 1660 Ireland's trade with the colonies was controlled by mercantilist legislation, but, in spite of that, it continued to expand and remained extensive until the

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1. R. Hakluyt, The Principal Navigations, etc., of the English Nation, Glasgow, 1904, VIII, 138.
 2. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) Addenda 1574-1674, p.17; E. M. Carus-Wilson, The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages, pp.157-8.
 3. Records of the Virginia Company, ed. S. M. Kingsbury, I, 257, 269; Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial), I, 6; R. A. MacKay, ed., Newfoundland, Economic, Diplomatic and Strategic Studies, Toronto, 1946, pp.245-61; J. O'Donovan, Economic History of Livestock in Ireland, p.63; Chapter VII, *infra*.
 4. Rees.Va.Co., III, 240, 387-8.

American Revolution. (5) Trade, like the victualling business, brought many ships into Irish ports and did much to stimulate interest in the colonies.

While there were, in Ireland, those who had special reasons, as well as the means and the initiative to travel to America and settle there, many more who lacked one or all of these requirements could find themselves in the New World. In fact, anyone in the vicinity of the southern ports who may have been idle, unemployed, adventurous, or merely curious and careless enough to stray close to the quays was, throughout the colonial period, likely to be lured, by fair means or foul, on board one of the many vessels that were bound for the colonies. No one will ever know how many of these casual emigrants were or how many went to America in this way, but, in the course of the 168 years that elapsed between the founding of Virginia and the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, their total must have been considerable. Their going owed as much to Ireland's position on the trade routes to and from America as it did to the labour market in the colonies.

The indentured service system had begun with the establishment of Virginia in 1607, its purpose being to secure a sufficient number of labourers to make the colony viable. (6) At first it was not

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5. F. G. James, "Irish colonial trade in the eighteenth century", William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd series, XI, 574-84; P. A. Bruce, Economic History of Virginia in the seventeenth century, II, 329; Commissioners of Customs to the Lord Treasurer, 29 Mar. 1686, Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1685-8, pp.166-7.
 6. A. E. Smith, Colonists in bondage, Chapel Hill, 1947, p.8.

successful, for even the offer of a free passage across the Atlantic was not enough to induce more than a few Englishmen to emigrate.⁽⁷⁾ The system had to be modified; by 1619 the period of servitude was reduced and 100 acres of land were promised to every servant on the expiration of his bondage.⁽⁸⁾ Most important of all, perhaps, as far as Ireland was concerned, planters began to pay masters of ships, in money or in colonial produce, for any possible servants they brought with their cargoes.⁽⁹⁾ It is thought, therefore, that the trade in servants from Ireland to Virginia began on a regular basis in 1619 or 1620.⁽¹⁰⁾ From then until the American Revolution this movement from Ireland, which began almost unnoticed, continued at an increasing rate and formed the mainstream of Irish emigration to the colonies.

The indentured service system was adopted on similar lines by successive colonies. In the early seventeenth century the tobacco plantations of first Virginia, then the West Indies and Maryland, and later the Caribbean sugar plantations, created a large demand for field labourers and Ireland supplied many of them. Authoritative recognition of the importance of the Irish servant trade came in the Navigation Act of 1660 which exempted it from the usual controls.⁽¹¹⁾

In the following decades the Irish servant trade expanded for several reasons. The colonies were increasing not only in size,

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7. A. E. Smith, *op.cit.*, p.9.
 8. *Ibid.*, pp.9, 17.
 9. *Ibid.*, p.13; *Recs.Va.Co.*, I, 289, 295.
 10. C. Bridenbaugh, *Vexed and troubled Englishmen, 1590-1642*, Oxford, 1968, p.417.
 11. 12 Car. II, c.18.

but in number, although the negro slave was increasingly preferred in the southern plantations.⁽¹²⁾ At the same time there also arose a special demand in some colonies for more white servants to counteract the preponderance of the negro.⁽¹³⁾ Fresh supplies of servants were constantly needed to replace those whose servitude had expired. Furthermore, emigration from England was now being discouraged⁽¹⁴⁾ and, owing to the Navigation Acts, Scotland was practically excluded from imperial trade until 1707 so that Scottish servants grew scarce.⁽¹⁵⁾ Ireland, therefore, became the main source of colonial labour from the British Isles in the late seventeenth century.

By the mid-seventeenth century Ireland was also supplying an increasing proportion of temporary labour for the Newfoundland fisheries. At that time the English fisheries were under the control of West Country merchants who, for some time past, had adopted the practice of victualling at southern Irish ports.⁽¹⁶⁾ In doing so they attracted a few labourers for the fishing season and probably because they too were cheaper than the English the custom grew year by year. Inevitably, some of the Irish labourers remained in America, either staying in Newfoundland or migrating to other colonies.⁽¹⁷⁾

12. E. Williams, The History of the Caribbean 1492-1969, London, 1970, p.109.

13. Cal.S.P. (America & West Indies), 1681-5; 1685-8; 1689-92; 1693-6; 1696-7; 1697-8; 1699; *passim*.

14. Smith, *op.cit.*, pp.6-7.

15. Cal.S.P. (A. & W.I.) 1675-6, p.304; 1689-92, p.573.

16. D. W. Prowse, A history of Newfoundland, London, 1896, pp.200-1.

17. Chapter VII, this work.

While these developments were taking place Ireland itself was in process of being colonised. Indeed, some of the most ambitious schemes for establishing colonies in America ended in or were transferred to Ireland.⁽¹⁸⁾ In other instances, Englishmen who already had land or other interests in the country made Ireland the base for their transatlantic projects. Those pioneer colonial adventurers, Gilbert, Raleigh, Grenville, Drake and Frobisher, who all had estates in Ireland, had done so in the late sixteenth century.⁽¹⁹⁾ Not surprisingly, a few native Irishmen, who appear to have been personal servants, were taken to America on those unsuccessful ventures;⁽²⁰⁾ they were the forerunners of many similar emigrants. For the rest of the colonial era Ireland remained intertwined with the process of empire building as Englishmen, mostly, who already held land in Ireland sought to acquire more estates across the Atlantic. In doing so they transferred servants and tenants from their own estates and elsewhere in Ireland to their American plantations.⁽²¹⁾ It was indeed in their own interests that they tried to persuade as many people as possible to emigrate under their auspices, for the more settlers they could bring out to the colonies the more land they could obtain.

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18. Rees.Va.Co., I, 480, 489; D. B. Quinn, The Elizabethans and the Irish, New York, 1966, pp.110-17; C. N. Parkinson, The rise of the port of Liverpool, 1952, p.8.
19. Ibid.
20. Hakluyt, op.cit., pp.317-18, 341-2.
21. Notable in this respect were Gookin (Virginia); the Winthrop family (Massachusetts and Connecticut), the Earl of Carlisle (West Indies) and Lord Baltimore (Maryland) in the early seventeenth century.

In the early colonial period the head-right system, which is thought to have been introduced in Virginia in 1617, became general. (22) By its terms individuals were granted land in proportion to the number of people they brought out at their own expense. The usual grant was 50 acres for each person. In the early 1620's, for example, Daniel Gookin, an English landlord resident in Co. Cork, received an extensive plantation in Virginia in respect of servants whom he had brought from Ireland. (23) In 1680 George Talbott of Co. Roscommon was granted 32,000 acres in Maryland for transporting 640 persons within 12 years. (24)

As well as Anglo-Irish landlords with colonial ambitions there were other people who found they could acquire land and prestige in America with the currency of servants from Ireland. Among them were inevitably "entrepreneurs", such as sea-captains, some of whom were of foreign origin, who, having thus received head-rights in the colonies, sold them for cash. (25) This practice was particularly rife during the Commonwealth period. Before the end of the seventeenth century it became more difficult for those who had no intention of settling in the colonies to claim land rights. (26) Most colonial governments, however, continued to offer generous land

22. Smith, op.cit., p.15.

23. Recs.Va.Co., I, 561-2; B. Fleet, ed., Virginia Colonial Abstracts, Baltimore, 1961, passim, references to head-rights.

24. E. J. McCormac, White servitude in Maryland 1634-1820, Baltimore, 1904, p.21.

25. A. E. Smith, "The indentured servant and land speculation in seventeenth century Maryland", A.H.R., XL, 467-72; Bruce, op.cit., I, 609.

26. Smith, op.cit.

grants to all genuine planters in proportion to the number of settlers they brought with them.⁽²⁷⁾ This provided a continuing stimulus to the recruitment of servants in Ireland.

There is little doubt that the majority of these servants and of the fishing labourers for Newfoundland was drawn from the native population of Ireland. Except for a short period after the Cromwellian regime and its terrors⁽²⁸⁾ - not the least of which was the forcible transportation of several thousand Irish men, women and children to hard labour in the American colonies⁽²⁹⁾ - there seems to have been a certain readiness in the lower ranks of Irish society to emigrate to America. Evidence indeed exists of groups of these same classes finding their way overseas before 1600 and, in the early seventeenth century, Irish beggars went as far as the continent in search of alms.⁽³⁰⁾ With so many opportunities for crossing the Atlantic, and at no cost to themselves, it would have been surprising if there had not been some movement of the native Irish to America after 1600. There was certainly plenty of cause for emigration.

An effective English occupation of Ireland could not be achieved without some displacement of the native population and also of resistance on their part. In the seventeenth century, therefore, Ireland had perhaps more than its quota of vagrant poor as well

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- 27. South Carolina, for example: Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1669-74, p.404 and 1677-80, p.360; also Pennsylvania and New Jersey.
 - 28. Collections of the Historical Society of South Carolina, Vol.V, Charleston, 1897, pp.152-4.
 - 29. R. Dunlop (ed.), Ireland under the Commonwealth: Documents relating to the government of Ireland 1651-2, II, 655-6.
 - 30. Cal.S.P.(Ire.) 1606-8, p.98.

as its militant vagabonds. The absence of a Poor Law meant that people were less rooted to their parish than in England. Those who wandered into the ports of Ireland would be likely to encounter colonial-bound mariners on the look-out for saleable labour. At times, such as after some major cataclysm, the numbers of vagrants were such that Ireland appeared to be an endless source of cheap labour. (31)

Many of the advocates of overseas colonies saw them primarily as penal settlements for the unemployed and disaffected at home. (32)

Some impatient Englishmen thought that the Irish problem would be solved if all truculent and vagrant Irishmen could be transported as labourers to the colonies. (33)

A document belonging to the year 1607, for example, contains a proposal for transporting seven or eight thousand Kerne to Virginia. (34) Irish vagabonds and pirates, could also, according to some officials, be captured and set to work in the colonies. (35)

Except for a time under Cromwell, however, it was not until the eighteenth century that transportation from Ireland to North America was organised on a major scale, and then it was mainly of civil offenders and vagrants. (36)

31. Cal.Clarendon Papers, Oxford, 1869, II, 179.

32. K. E. Knorr, British Colonial Theories 1570-1850, London, 1963, pp.41-8, 75.

33. Cal.S.P.(Ire.) 1608-10, p.278; Sir Oliver St. John to the Lords of the Council, ibid., 1615-25, p.306; Cal.Carew Manuscripts 1603-24, London, 1893, p.158.

34. B.M. Lansdowne MSS., Vol.156, f.265.

35. Sir Richard Maryson to Lord Salisbury, Youghal, 22 Aug. 1609, Cal.S.P.(Ire.) 1608-10, p.278.

36. Chapter VI, this work.

It is evident that, except under Cromwell, the governments of England and Ireland refrained from ordering mass deportations of rebels and political prisoners from Ireland to colonial America. These were likely to be leaders rather than led and might willingly have promoted insurrection in the colonies. The situation was, no doubt, eased by so many Irish leaders and men of military inclination emigrating to the continent of Europe, if they emigrated at all. Care was taken too that Irish priests, except during the Cromwellian period, were usually banished to Europe,⁽³⁷⁾ for the overseas colonial empire was meant to be a Protestant one. Nevertheless, Roman Catholics, although they received little encouragement,⁽³⁸⁾ were not forbidden to go to the colonies. No obstacles, therefore, prevented the departure of the native Irish as servants. They slipped away from Ireland almost unobserved, but the colonial records reveal how numerous they became in North America.

References to Catholic Irish servants in the mainland and island colonies appear frequently in records of the second half of the seventeenth century.⁽³⁹⁾ By 1700 the Irish were common in every colony from Newfoundland southwards to the Carolinas, with their largest aggregation in the West Indies where Irish trade was heaviest.⁽⁴⁰⁾

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37. 8. Ann.C.3 (Irish Statutes at Large), IV, 190, p.212), encouraged merchants to transport priests to overseas colonies not subject to the crown.
38. Lord Baltimore's efforts to create a refuge for Roman Catholics in North America encountered much opposition, D.N.B.
39. Cal.S.P. (A. & W.I.), etc.
40. C.O. 1/42, pp.337-81; C.O.157/1, P.R.O., London.

Alarm at their numbers and at the imagined consequences of "the growth of popery" was expressed in some quarters, notably in Maryland, where they had received much encouragement from certain people.⁽⁴¹⁾ Several colonies tried to reduce the immigration of Irish servants by levying duties on them.⁽⁴²⁾ This expedient, like that of disarming them, achieved little. Rebels and troublemakers there certainly were among the Irish, everywhere and at all times, particularly in the Caribbean, where some militant elements had come in with or been encouraged by the French,⁽⁴³⁾ but there is more evidence for the view that the Irish servants in America were largely indifferent to both politics and religion. Otherwise they might have formed a serious threat to the Protestant empire.

Protestants, most of whom were of English, Welsh or Scottish origin, also emigrated from Ireland in the seventeenth century, but obviously not in very great numbers. Some of them went as servants, particularly in the retinue of emigrating planters. The seventeenth century was rather the age of Protestant immigration into Ireland and the American colonies were slow to attract many ordinary people from any part of the British Isles. The failure of Daniel Gookin and others to popularise Virginia and Maryland in the early decades

41. Cal.S.P. (A. & W.I.), 1699, p.439; 1706-8, p.67; Chapter IX, this work.

42. Cal.S.P. (A. & W.I.), 1699, p.347.

43. Cal.S.P. (Ire.) 1645-25, p.407; 1669-70, p.304; T. Birch, ed., Thurloe's State Papers, I, 323, 337.

is significant.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The Atlantic was then too formidable to be crossed without a strong reason.

Throughout the Christian era the urge to spread the gospel has been one constant cause of emigration and the first powerful impulse to the emigration of Protestants from Ireland appears to have been religious zeal. The "Eagle Wing" carrying 140 Presbyterians left Ulster for New England in 1636.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The fascination that the New England colonies held for them as Calvinists needs no explanation. They were, in fact, impeded by Atlantic storms which they accepted as a sign of God's disapproval of their venture, so they turned back.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Not until the post-Restoration period, a time of uncertainty for all Protestant Dissenters in Ireland, does there appear to have been any significant emigration of Presbyterians.

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century active communities of them were observed, not in New England, but in Maryland and Delaware.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Those in Maryland were referred to as "Scotch-Irish" in 1695, and this is thought to have been the first official use of that exact term in America.⁽⁴⁸⁾ At that time their numbers were reckoned

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44. Recs.Va.Co., IV, 16, 22-3; F. W. Gookin, Daniel Gookin 1612-87, Chicago, 1912; M. A. Jones, American Immigration, Chicago, 1960, pp.9-10.
45. G. J. Slosser, ed., They seek a country, New York, 1955, p.2.
46. Ibid.; R. J. Dickson, Ulster emigration to Colonial America 1718-75, London, 1966, p.19.
47. Delaware, which adjoins Maryland, although autonomous, was under the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania.
48. J. G. Layburn, The Scotch-Irish, 1962, pp.327-34; The terms "Scottish Irish", "Scots Irish" and "Irish Scots" were used in Elizabethan times to denote the Scottish occupants of parts of Ulster. The expression "Scotch-Irish" was used by the Queen herself, at least as early as 1573, in Letters Patent, Cal.Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland, Vol.I, Dublin, 1861, p.553. During the remainder of this work "Scotch-Irish" will be used to denote those of Scottish birth or descent who emigrated from Ireland to America in the colonial period.

in hundreds. How and why they had left Ireland is still unknown, but they were said to be engaged in linen manufacture and most of them had probably come from Ulster.⁽⁴⁹⁾ They can be regarded as the pioneers of a massive movement.

Their presence in Maryland and Delaware no doubt owed something to the full toleration offered by those colonies to all Protestant Dissenters. Maryland also operated a generous scheme of land grants until 1683,⁽⁵⁰⁾ and at least some of the Scotch-Irish had arrived by that time. Finding a great dearth of ministers of their own faith in Maryland they sent out a call to Ulster which was answered by Rev. Francis Makemie in 1683.⁽⁵¹⁾ He is regarded as the "father of American Presbyterianism".⁽⁵²⁾ Undeterred by frontier life he extended his activities beyond Maryland.⁽⁵³⁾ Through his efforts and those of other clergymen, some of whom he himself had persuaded to come from Ireland, more and closer links were established between the Presbyterians of Ireland and those of the colonies.⁽⁵⁴⁾

In the meantime, another Protestant sect in Ireland had been driven to seek religious freedom in America. After 1660 Quakers in Ireland found themselves harassed on one side by Anglican clergy and on the other by rapparees.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Some of them, in association with

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49. Edward Randolph to the Commissioners of Customs, James City, 27 June 1692, Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1689-92, p.659; Slosser, op.cit., p.32.
 50. Smith, "Land Speculation in Maryland", pp.467-72.
 51. Slosser, op.cit., p.32; C. A. Hanna, The Scotch-Irish, 1902, p.7.
 52. Slosser, *ibid.*
 53. *Ibid.*, p.33-4.
 54. *Ibid.*, pp.38, 62; Hanna, op.cit., pp.7-9.
 55. I. Grubb, Quakers in Ireland 1654-1900, London, 1927, pp.30-4.

their afflicted co-religionists in England, then began to plan a refuge in the New World.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Although Quakers settled in some of the other colonies, West New Jersey, founded in 1674, was the first Quaker colony in America, preceding the Pennsylvania experiment by several years.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Among its early proprietors by purchase were several Irish Quakers, notably Robert Turner, a wealthy Dublin linen draper, and Anthony Sharp.⁽⁵⁸⁾ A few years later William Penn, who held an estate in Ireland, became the first Proprietor of Pennsylvania which offered religious freedom to all sects and whose renown soon eclipsed West New Jersey.⁽⁵⁹⁾ After 1682 Quaker emigration from Ireland shifted to Pennsylvania⁽⁶⁰⁾ and, in the eighteenth century, when many other Protestant Dissenters took ship for America, the port of Philadelphia became for Ireland what New York represented in the nineteenth.

The Irish Quakers were not a numerous body and those who emigrated to America in the whole colonial period might have numbered less than 2,500.⁽⁶¹⁾ As emigrants and in the manner of their going they totally contrasted with the Irish servants. They were mostly people of some substance or influence so their emigration was

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56. A. C. Myers (ed.), Narratives of early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware 1630-1707, New York, 1912, p.180.
57. J. E. Pomfret, "West New Jersey: A Quaker Society 1675-1775", Wm. & M.Q., 3rd Ser., VIII, 493.
58. Myers, op.cit., p.273; Grubb, op.cit., pp.46-8.
59. William Penn, etc., Tracts on the American Colonies 1681-1736, p.43.
60. Pomfret, op.cit., p.495.
61. A. C. Myers, Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania 1682-1750, 1902, pp.81-2.

carefully planned and organised; ships were specially chartered for their exclusive use. (62) Quakers went to America in close-knit family and community groups. Each individual or head of a family had his Certificate of Removal which was, in fact, a letter of introduction to Friends in any place where he might be a stranger. (63) Few other emigrants from Ireland had so many advantages.

By the end of the seventeenth century three distinct trends in emigration from Ireland were discernible: one, a long-established trade in indentured servants who were until then mostly Roman Catholics; two, the emigration of Protestant Dissenters; three, the migration of temporary labourers to the Newfoundland fisheries, some of whom became permanent settlers. Ireland had now so many connections, both personal and business, with the American colonies that, in the conditions of the eighteenth century, it was inevitable that more and more people should be lured across the Atlantic.

62. M. Balderston, ed., James Claypole's Letter Book, California, 1967, p.52; Myers, Narratives, pp.180, 194, 242n., 273m.; Grubb, op.cit., pp.46-8.

63. O. C. Goodbody, Guide to Irish Quaker Records 1654-1860, 1967, pp.13-14, 15.

CHAPTER II

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY BACKGROUND TO EMIGRATION IN IRELAND AND IN THE COLONIES

Compared with the seventeenth century the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century in Ireland were a period of civil peace and, ironically, of heavy emigration from the country. The large exodus of mainly Presbyterians from Ulster between 1718 and 1775 has, of course, been well chronicled by a number of historians.⁽¹⁾

Dr. R. J. Dickson's valuable monograph on the subject was published in 1966.⁽²⁾ To avoid overlapping this present work will concentrate, as far as is practicable, on emigration from the provinces of Munster, Leinster and Connaught within that period.

Much of the emigration from Ireland to America that took place in the eighteenth century is directly attributable to social or economic conditions. Crossing the Atlantic was no longer a venture into the unknown and those who were discontented in Ireland could turn to the colonies with no uncertain hopes. The colonies themselves, aware of the situation in Ireland, did much to encourage settlers from there, for these were their greatest need. On both sides of the Atlantic, therefore, strong forces impelled further emigration from Ireland.

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1. Notably W. F. Adams, C. K. Bolton, W. F. Dunaway, H. J. Ford, C. A. Hanna, S. C. Wood; see bibliography.
 2. R. J. Dickson, Ulster emigration to colonial America 1718-1775, London, 1966; according to Archbishop King and Cotton Mather this emigration began in 1717, King's Letter, Feb. 1717, B.M.Add.6117, p.102; Diary of Cotton Mather, entries Sept. 1717.

In contemporary sources, the dominant causes of emigration at various times after 1700, where specifically stated, include the following: oppression by landlords; tithes; the religious Test; economic difficulties, which were usually blamed on government policy, and harvest failures.⁽³⁾ While economic troubles and food shortages were of themselves sufficient to cause a considerable amount of emigration at times, it becomes clear that, throughout this period, social and religious grievances were deeply felt by many emigrants.

The injustices endured by the native population are, of course, well known. However, any tenant, whatever his nationality or religion, might find himself harshly treated by an unfair landlord. The tyranny of an established church which lacked popular support was perhaps more exacting. Its universal jurisdiction, of which tithes were the detested symbol, was resented by those who did not belong to it. Such was its influence that even landlords needed to be very strong-minded not to conform^{to} the Church of Ireland.⁽⁴⁾ After 1704 the inferior status of all those who did not conform, whether Protestant Dissenters or Roman Catholics, became official.⁽⁵⁾

3. B.M.Add.6117, ff.102-105; Add.21,122, Vol.I, f.88; P.R.O., London, S.P.63/430 pp.85, 288; Cal.Home Office Papers 1760-5, p.631; 1770-2, pp.90-1; 1773-5, pp.38-9; 513-14; Letter from Andrew Trueman and Patrick Layfield to a gentleman in Dublin, Dublin Weekly Journal, 7 June 1729; The Country Journal, 6 Aug. 1735; The Intelligencer, No.19, 1729; S. Madden, Reflections and Resolutions, Dublin, 1738, p.40; etc.
4. J. G. Simms, The Williamite Confiscation in Ireland 1690-1703, London, 1956, pp.158-9, 160; Haliday Tracts, Box 186, T.2, R.I.A.; Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 25-28 Feb. 1769.
5. 2 Ann.c.6.

From this date, Protestant Dissenters understandably resented their position even more than the Roman Catholics appeared to do. Most of the former were of immigrant stock who had come to Ireland on fair promises or with high expectations. Now they found themselves in the position of second-class citizens. Some found this reason enough for leaving Ireland; others needed the additional impulse given by economic adversity.

The determination of Quakers to find toleration in the New World has already been mentioned. They were the much smaller of the two main dissenting sects among the Protestants of Ireland and most numerous in the south.⁽⁶⁾ Many of them were farmers and noted for their obduracy over tithes.⁽⁷⁾ Others were prominent in trade and industry and had important centres in the larger ports and towns.⁽⁸⁾ Some, such as Strettell of Dublin, were wealthy.⁽⁹⁾ Those who were in the shipping business could seldom fail in the eighteenth century, for when trade was poor emigration increased and vice versa. The Quakers whose prosperity depended solely on farming or on the linen trade were not so fortunate and the peak of Quaker emigration occurred in 1729 as a result of the severe recession at that time.⁽¹⁰⁾

Industrious and normally prosperous though Quakers might be, they invited a certain amount of ridicule and mild persecution⁽¹¹⁾

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6. Goodbody, *op.cit.*, p.15.
 7. *Ibid.*, p.7.
 8. Myers, Immigration, pp.48, 106; L. M. Cullen, Anglo-Irish Trade 1660-1800, Manchester, 1968, pp.92-3.
 9. The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Philadelphia, 1877, I, 241.
 10. Myers, *op.cit.*, p.48.
 11. Smith, Colonists in bondage, p.175.

which they knew they could escape in Pennsylvania. There too they could hold high office and participate in government which, after 1704, they could not do in Ireland. For these as well as economic reasons, Quakers continued to leave Ireland, usually in small groups, until their emigration was exhausted in the middle of the century; the majority of them were farmers.⁽¹²⁾

Presbyterians formed by far the largest body of Dissenters. These were mostly of Scottish origin and stemmed partly from the Plantation of Ulster in the early seventeenth century, but also from a more recent influx from Scotland after 1660 and especially after 1689. Fifty thousand Scottish families had come to Ulster alone between 1689 and 1715, lured mainly by the offer of farms at low rents and on short leases.⁽¹³⁾ Not all the Scots settled in Ulster, however; about a tenth of them moved into the other provinces of Ireland, especially Leinster,⁽¹⁴⁾ and they helped to swell the Presbyterian community of Dublin,⁽¹⁵⁾ although they were not all Presbyterians.

In Ireland the Scots made such rapid strides that, even before the end of the seventeenth century, their presence was disturbing the Anglican Ascendancy on several points. They were seen as pushing

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12. Myers, Immigration, pp.81-2, 106.
 13. Bishop of Raphoe to Lords of the Privy Council, Dublin, 22 Mar. 1715/16, B.M.Add.6117, f.50.
 14. W. F. Dunaway, The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania, Chapel Hill, 1944, p.28.
 15. By 1717 there were two Presbyterian congregations in Dublin, Hanna, op.cit., pp.371-84; Chapter III, this work.

their way into trade, magistracies, the army and parliament; they continued to hold close ties with Scotland; they were socially exclusive and, above all, they flaunted their own religion.⁽¹⁶⁾

The growing wealth and influence of the Scots in Ireland was such that some observers thought that Scotland would replace England as the ruling power of Ireland.⁽¹⁷⁾ The legislation of 1704 helped considerably to reverse that process.

The so-called "Test Act" of 1704 dealt all Protestant Dissenters in Ireland a severe blow, but was most deeply resented by Presbyterians. It was not only that they were to be excluded from the higher offices, but their marriages were no longer considered valid.⁽¹⁸⁾ This slur on their religion they could not accept. The compulsory payment of tithes was a hard reminder of their subjection which Presbyterian farmers, no less than Quakers, resisted.⁽¹⁹⁾ The Scots had further cause for grievance: whether there was a sacramental test or not, it was usually Englishmen who were appointed to high office in Ireland.⁽²⁰⁾

The Test was introduced at a time when Scots were still hope-fully pouring into Ireland. For some years to come, therefore, the Presbyterians refused to accept the situation and did their utmost to remove it.⁽²¹⁾ In any case, the need to secure their loyalty during

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16. B. M. Sloane MSS. 2902, f.218; T. C. Smout, Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union 1660-1707, 1963, p.93.
 17. Sloane MSS., ibid.
 18. 2 Ann.o.6; J. C. Beckett, Protestant Dissent in Ireland 1687-1780, 1948, pp.135, 143-4; C. K. Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America, 1910, p.15.
 19. Beckett, op.cit., pp.88-9.
 20. J. C. Beckett, The making of modern Ireland 1603-1923, London, 1966, pp.187-8.
 21. Becket, Protestant Dissent, p.45.

the war and Jacobite menace of that time ensured that the Test was not rigorously enforced.⁽²²⁾ In November 1713 three Presbyterian ministers, two from Ulster and one from Dublin, laid their people's grievances before the Lord-Lieutenant and warned him that many of them were considering going to America to enjoy what "is denied them in their native country".⁽²³⁾ In 1714 the colonies began to report increased immigration from Irish ports.⁽²⁴⁾ Allowing for the usual servant trade and Quaker emigration this must indicate that Presbyterians were crossing the Atlantic to religious and civil freedom.

There was, in fact, not much point in their returning to Scotland which many of them had recently left because of poor conditions.⁽²⁵⁾ By that time they must have been well-informed about the colonies in America. The Scotch-Irish in Maryland and the work of Rev. Francis Makemie have already been mentioned, and, in the first decade of the eighteenth century, more clergymen had emigrated from Ireland, some from Ulster and some from Dublin.⁽²⁶⁾ The literacy and influence of these clergymen could remove any doubts the Presbyterians may have had. The part played by clergymen in the emigration of Presbyterians from Ireland was of considerable significance.

22. Becket, Protestant Dissent, p.45.

23. Hanna, Scotch-Irish, p.16.

24. Bolton, Scotch-Irish, pp.17-18 and Appendix I.

25. B.M. Sloane, 2902, f.218.

26. Slosser, op.cit., p.38.

Presbyterian emigration to America continued at a fluctuating rate until 1775, reaching high peaks at times of economic stress. The few concessions that were made to them in 1719⁽²⁷⁾ were not enough to halt the movement from Ireland for Presbyterians realised they would not recover the position they had held before 1704. The lure of the colonies became stronger year by year as they heard from those who had already gone, while every ill wind that blew in Ireland swept additional emigrants from all sects across the Atlantic.

Ill winds, in the literal sense, blew all too frequently in the first sixty-five years of the eighteenth century in Ireland, bringing bad weather, harvest failures and, in 1728-9, 1741 and 1757, famine conditions. The people who suffered most from the consequent scarcity and high prices of food were rural labourers and wage-earners in towns. In their desperation they might beg, migrate or emigrate.⁽²⁸⁾

Recessions in the linen industry provided another intermittent cause of heavy emigration. The manufacture of linen in Ulster as well as in parts of Leinster and Connaught was then organised on the domestic system.⁽²⁹⁾ Most linen workers were at the same time farmers or agricultural labourers, assisted by their wives and children. When, therefore, a linen recession coincided with bad harvests, as happened severely in the late 1720's, weavers were soon reduced to

27. Toleration Act, 6 Geo. I, c.5.

28. G. O'Brien, Economic history of Ireland in the eighteenth century, Dublin and London, 1918, pp.89, 98-100; L. M. Cullen, "The Irish economy in the eighteenth century", The Formation of the Irish economy, Cork, 1969, pp.13, 14, 16.

29. Ibid., pp.13, 18.

dire distress.⁽³⁰⁾ If they had not been able to emigrate they might have been compelled to beg. Primate Boulter's remark about only one in ten of the emigrants, at this time, being "a man of substance" and the condition of the rest "deplorable" was probably prompted by the sight of penniless and starving weavers and their families making their way to the ports.⁽³¹⁾

Attempts by the Linen Board to foster the linen industry in southern Ireland resulted in the establishment of "manufactories" after 1740.⁽³²⁾ Consequently, in the southern counties, there were communities of textile workers, including many from the north, who, encouraged by good conditions and wages, had given up their farms.⁽³³⁾ However, when a serious recession came, as it did in 1773, these new experiments were the first to suffer and heavy emigration of weavers and other operatives took place from the south as well as from the north of Ireland.⁽³⁴⁾

In addition to those directly affected by harvest failures or recessions in industry were the people whose livelihood depended on the prosperity of others. The owners of shops and craftsmen, such as tailors and shoemakers, could also be ruined. The records show that they formed a significant proportion of the emigrants to America.⁽³⁵⁾

30. Cullen, *op.cit.*, p.14.

31. H. Boulter, State Letters, I, 209-10; The Intelligencer, Dublin, 1729, No.6, p.54.

32. W. H. Crawford, 'The Rise of the linen industry', The formation of the Irish economy, pp.27-8.

33. *Ibid.*, pp.29, 31; B.M.Add.21.134, ff.5, 79.

34. Crawford, *op.cit.*, p.30; Beckett, Modern Ireland, p.206.

35. Muster rolls and records relating to indentured servants; Appendix A.

There are no reasons for believing that it was only Protestants who experienced economic adversity in Ireland. Yet it cannot be denied that there was no mass emigration of Catholics to colonial America on the same scale as that of Protestants in the eighteenth century. Indeed, some contemporary observers were convinced that the Catholics were not emigrating and certainly not to America. "No papists stir," wrote Archbishop King in 1717, "except Young Men that go abroad to be trained in arms".⁽³⁶⁾ Swift, with characteristic malice, suggested that they stayed at home deliberately in order to hand the country over to the Pretender!⁽³⁷⁾ "An Irish papist will not leave the Kingdom to go to any of our colonies for any prospect of gain," wrote Edward Willes about 1759.⁽³⁸⁾ This last statement contains an element of ambiguity which lies nearer the truth.

As already indicated, a situation could arise in eighteenth-century Ireland, in which humble people actually faced starvation. Some might resort to begging in their own neighbourhood or further afield - and, indeed, the Catholic church always recommended the giving of alms;⁽³⁹⁾ others might go to the Newfoundland fisheries or indent as servants for the colonies.

36. B.M.Add.6117, p.102.

37. Temple Scott, ed., The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, Vol.VII, p.213.

38. Extracts from letters written by Edward Willes, Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer, Aspects of Irish Social History, H.M.S.O., Belfast, 1969, p.88.

39. A. Redford, Labour Migration in England 1800-1850, Manchester, 1964, p.137.

The number of beggars increased greatly at times of death^r or famine, in 1729, for example,⁽⁴⁰⁾ and in 1766 after the potato crop failed.⁽⁴¹⁾ However, the more lusty of these had less chance of seeing the return of plenty for they could be transported to the colonies for vagrancy.⁽⁴²⁾ Skilled workers and tradesmen were more likely to emigrate than beg and the servant trade provided them with the opportunity of reaching America, as did the armed forces. Other people from these same classes were among the felons transported from Ireland to provide labour for the colonies in the eighteenth century. However they had come, Catholic Irish were constantly arriving in the colonies. In colonial sources and muster rolls a high proportion of them are described as labourers; most of the others were craftsmen or weavers.⁽⁴³⁾

The Catholic emigrants to America, therefore, whether willing or unwilling, did not, in the main, come from the upper ranks of Irish society. These were more deeply rooted in the traditions of Catholic Europe and the American colonies did not have much appeal for them. A few of them did accept positions of authority in several colonies under the auspices of James, Duke of York, later James II, but these were exceptional. After 1763 the Catholic gentry

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40. A. Dobbs, Essay on the Trade and Improvement of Ireland, Dublin, 1729, I, pp.45-9.
 41. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 12-15 July, 1766.
 42. Chapter VI, this work.
 43. Cal.S.P. (A. & W.I.); colonial newspapers; muster rolls as published in Pennsylvania Archives, 2nd, 3rd and 5th series, Harrisburg, 1874-1906, and in Collections of New York Historical Society for 1891, Vol.XXIV, New York, 1892.

and middle classes may have shown more interest in North America,⁽⁴⁴⁾ but by then the domination of the "White Anglo-Saxon Protestant" was permanently established and further strengthened by the recent defeat of the French.⁽⁴⁵⁾

With very few exceptions colonial authorities preferred Protestant settlers and it was to the Protestants of Ireland that many of their offers and appeals were addressed. However, the special needs of an expanding continental empire and its inhabitants ensured that religion, nationality and even race mattered less than the health and usefulness of an immigrant.

As the eighteenth century progressed the colonial demand for settlers and workers, both skilled and unskilled, became more urgent as the provinces grew larger and more highly developed. Political as well as economic and social considerations lay behind their frequent appeals for immigrants.

The series of wars which ended in 1713 had been the first major imperial conflict with the French in North America. For the next sixty years of the colonial period the mainland colonies had to reckon with attacks from the west at any point along the frontier. The Indians, too, were often a menace, whether or not they were in league with any of the other imperial powers.

44. M. Wall, "Catholics in Economic Life", The formation of the Irish Economy, p.38; later Chapters, this work.

45. White Anglo-Saxon Protestant, W.A.S.P., a term used in modern times to denote the ruling race in federal America.

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44. M. Wall, "Catholics in Economic Life", The formation of the Irish Economy, p. 58; later Chapters, this work.

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The frontier, in colonial times, could never be a fixed line on a map; rather it was a remote and indeterminate region, always trending westward, where pioneer conditions were constantly re-created as new settlers arrived and took up land.⁽⁴⁶⁾ This thinly peopled area had acquired importance as a buffer between the colonies proper and territory which was often hostile. Colonial governments became increasingly concerned with the defence of the frontier region and were ever ready with schemes for encouraging people to settle there. It was not easy to persuade the inhabitants of the older settlements to forsake their hard-won comforts and security for the wildness and dangers of frontier life. Instead, new or intending immigrants were lured into accepting, for little or nothing, land in the western wilderness.⁽⁴⁷⁾ It also became common colonial policy to allocate plots of land in this region to emancipated servants, some of whom, rather than go and live in the "back of beyond" did not take up their dues or sold them.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The Irish and the Scots were less appalled by the prospects of frontier life than many other immigrants and here they were well represented.⁽⁴⁹⁾ The latter, indeed, after their experiences in Ireland, often determinedly pushed into these areas where they could be their own masters. Such extensive tracts of cheap, freehold and tithe-free land must have had infinite appeal for farmers who had come from eighteenth-century Ireland.

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46. F. J. Turner, The Frontier in American history, New York, 1921; Dictionary of American History, II, 350.
 47. Cal.S.P. (A. & W.I.) 1735-6, p.252; 1737, p.64.
 48. Smith, "Land speculation in Maryland", A.H.R., pp.467-72.
 49. J. R. Dunbar (ed.), The Paxton Papers, The Hague, 1957.

The capacity of the colonies for absorbing people in the eighteenth century seemed endless, although they were not in a position to select all the settlers they received. From Ireland alone went a motley crowd of emigrants. About ten per cent of them, as Boulter once suggested, may have been "men of substance" who saw the chance of doing even better, both socially and economically, in America, and they were most likely to be Protestants. Both Irish and colonial sources indicate that the great majority were relatively poor people. They were the labourers, small farmers, farmer-weavers and artisans who, in varying degrees, had been impoverished by economic events and emigrated to escape further hardship and the risk of insecurity. They could be either Protestants or Catholics, but Protestants emigrated in a higher proportion to their numbers in the country.

These can all be regarded as voluntary emigrants in the sense that they chose to leave Ireland or were persuaded to leave it for better prospects across the Atlantic. In the eighteenth century they might find themselves travelling in the same ship as a number of unwilling emigrants, the convicts who had been sentenced by the courts to penal servitude in the colonies.

Those whose profitable business it became to ship all these people to America in the eighteenth century divided them into three broad categories - Passenger, Servant and Convict. The term Passenger, although often loosely used, strictly meant a person who was paying the full rate for his passage or whose fare was paid by

another party. Servants were generally carried free of charge and were obviously more numerous than the Passengers. Convicts, after 1726, were transported for a fee and so were, with mock respect, called "His Majesty's seven-year passengers". These three groups will be considered separately as will the seasonal migrants for the Newfoundland fisheries.

CHAPTER III

THE ORGANISATION OF EMIGRATION AND SOME INDICATIONS OF ITS NATURE AND VOLUME BETWEEN 1700 AND 1739

Shipping people across the Atlantic in colonial times was always expensive, mainly owing to the length of time taken for the voyage.⁽¹⁾ In the eighteenth century the average cost of a passage, including food, for one person was £5.⁽²⁾ The fares actually charged might be more or even less than that amount according to the standard of accommodation or in competitive bargaining to secure passengers. In the early 1770's, for example, a time of heavy emigration, some people from the north of Ireland were offered passages for £3 10s. 0d. each and another group paid only three guineas, but for fares as low as these they could expect to travel in overcrowded vessels.⁽³⁾

The significance of £5 in those times is possibly best indicated by the existence of the indentured service system. The cost of a passage to America was more than most wage-earners could save, except over a long period of time, and heads of families would have to find several times that amount.⁽⁴⁾ At the other end of the scale in Ireland stood those who were wealthy enough to charter ships for the

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1. Recs.Va.Co., I, 257; T. J. Wertenbaker, The Planters of Colonial Virginia, 1922, pp.16, 29-32.
 2. C. P. Nettels, The roots of American civilisation, 1938, pp.319-24; H. L. Osgood, The American colonies in the eighteenth century, 1924, II, 484.
 3. Falkner's Dublin Journal, 10-13 Apr. 1773; C. M. Hough, ed., Reports of Cases in the Vice-Admiralty of New York, 1925, pp.210-13.
 4. The wage of a farm labourer in Ireland was less than one shilling a day in the eighteenth century, E. Curtis, History of Ireland, 1961, p.287.

passage of their own families, friends and selected followers. Between the two extremes were others, such as farmers or craftsmen, who could probably raise the passage money, but who knew that much more than that was needed to cover the risks and uncertainties of a long voyage and settlement in pioneer country. In the eighteenth century he was a courageous emigrant who spent his savings on the journey and arrived virtually penniless in the colonies. Some who did that, in a spirit of pride or independence, found themselves having to enter indentured service after all. Clearly, few men of modest means could travel to and settle in the colonies entirely on their own resources, especially if they had families. Indeed, the average person, being neither very affluent nor very adventurous, needed a great deal of encouragement and assistance before he would emigrate. Dissatisfied though they might be with conditions in Ireland, most eighteenth-century emigrants were drawn across the Atlantic by a variety of inducements; and there was often much organisation behind their apparently spontaneous departure. Inevitably, circumstances provided plenty of scope for unscrupulous entrepreneurs whose victims were likely to be deceived or disappointed.⁽⁵⁾ The majority of emigrants, however, yielded to some sort of persuasion or pressure; otherwise there would have been far fewer of them.

5. K. F. Geiser, "Redemptioners and Indentured servants in the Colony and Commonwealth of Pennsylvania", Supplement to Yale Review, New Haven, 1902, X, 17-19.

Clergymen and schoolmasters, for example, were encouraged to emigrate by a Royal Bounty, which had been introduced in 1690 by William III in order to overcome a shortage of these in the overseas colonies; the scheme continued until 1811.⁽⁶⁾ Its original terms are obscure, but it is thought that the King, who also revived the "Regium Donum", intended that £20 should be paid to all Protestant clergymen and schoolmasters who wished to emigrate to America. In practice, however, applications for the bounty had to be made in the first instance to the Bishop of London, so that it would be difficult for known or acknowledged Dissenters to claim it. In any case, it enabled a number of people, including graduates of Trinity College, Dublin, to emigrate from Ireland to the colonies.⁽⁷⁾

The colonies themselves constantly made efforts to attract settlers, particularly Protestants of all sects, to their shores. Agents were sent to Ireland; leaflets were distributed; special appeals were published in newspapers and letters - perhaps not always genuine - were circulated to extol the opportunities that lay across the ocean.⁽⁸⁾ Even so, some colonies were slow to draw many people from Ireland. Promises of religious toleration and sunny skies were

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6. Cal.Treasury Papers 1714-2, p.19; G. Fothergill, A list of emigrant ministers to America 1690-1811, London, 1904, pp.1-2.
 7. Cal.T.P., 1729-30, pp.323, 350, references to Rev. John Fulton; in Fothergill, op.cit., Arthur Brown, Jacob Henderson, Charles Inglis, Leigh Massey are stated to have come from Ireland.
 8. Letter in Dublin Weekly Journal, 7 June 1729; Geiser, op.cit., pp.10-25; Lord Justice of Scotland to Lord Suffolk, 27 Oct.1773, Cal.H.O. Papers 1773-5, p.95.

evidently not enough. It was early realised that many potential emigrants would respond more readily to tangible offers of money, land and free passages. Georgia, for example, which was founded in 1732, provided, until 1750, free passages and 50-acre plots of land, as well as liberty of conscience for all except Catholic immigrants. The slow growth of the colony led to the religious qualification being dropped.⁽⁹⁾ There seems to have been a better response from Ireland to South Carolina's bounty schemes of the 1760's. These included money payments in respect of each immigrant and land grants to heads of families; the bounty of 1767 added free passages for all Protestants.⁽¹⁰⁾

A free passage to the colonies was probably the greatest lure of all. That, of course, had long been available for anyone who entered indentured service at an Irish port, but it might be a last resort for some people. To travel on a chartered ship at someone else's expense was, at least, a more dignified way of reaching America. In the eighteenth century an indeterminate number of people was brought from Ireland to the colonies under schemes that were initiated by individuals of wealth or influence on both sides of the Atlantic. There is a great lack of information about most of these and consequently some controversy.

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9. O.T.Barek and H.T.Lefler, Colonial America, 1958, pp.273-5.
 10. B.M.Add. 29973, pp.26-7; Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 7-11 Apr. 1767; Dublin Mercury, 25-28 Apr. 1767; C.O.5/511, P.R.O., London.

One of the earliest was that organised by Captain Robert Temple, an army officer. According to M. J. O'Brien he emigrated from Cork to Massachusetts in 1717 where he joined the Penobscot Company and acquired 1,000 acres of land in Maine. On returning to Ireland he chartered five ships in which he brought over "some hundreds" of people, mostly from Cork and Kerry. One of their settlements on the Kennebec River was named Cork. According to Hanna all Temple's ships sailed from Ulster, but Dr. Dickson does not mention this enterprise. (11)

About ten years later Governor Dunbar of New Hampshire, then Surveyor-General of H.M.Woods in North America and, according to Hanna, a Scotch-Irishman, settled, chiefly at his own expense, about 300 Protestants from Ireland at Frederick's Fort. The territory was disputed by Massachusetts and shortly afterwards the small colony of six fortified townships had to be abandoned. (12)

Later on, Arthur Dobbs, Anglo-Irish landlord and statesman, promoted a certain amount of emigration from Ireland. He is known to have chartered at least one ship for the transportation of emigrants, who included people from his estates in both northern and southern Ireland, to North Carolina. (13)

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11. M. J. O'Brien, A hidden phase of American history, 1919, pp.309-11; Hanna, Scotch-Irish, II, 24.
 12. Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations 1728/9-34, p.164; Cal.T.B. & P. 1735-8, pp.491-2; Hanna, *op.cit.*, pp.24-5.
 13. D. Clarke, Arthur Dobbs, Esq., 1689-1765, 1958, pp.71-95; Dickson, Ulster emigration, pp.128-34; p.46, this chapter; Chapter IV, this work.

A few smaller enterprises could be mentioned at this point. In 1726, for example, Thomas Taylor of Dublin received a land grant in South Carolina. He had satisfied the Lords Proprietors that he intended to emigrate and bring with him at his own expense "several planters, handicraftsmen and other persons". Later it was reported that Taylor had gone to South Carolina with over thirty people from Ireland.⁽¹⁴⁾ In 1729 Miss Elizabeth McGawley, a Roman Catholic, and a party of people, who appear to have been her tenantry, emigrated from Dublin to an estate in Pennsylvania where they "happily settled".⁽¹⁵⁾ In 1773 a certain Mr. Hunt had chartered the brig "Hope" for the voyage from Dublin to South Carolina and was willing to take people, including "young married Couples to chuse", to settle on his lands in South Carolina and Georgia.⁽¹⁶⁾

Emigrants who travelled at someone else's expense were not, usually, recipients of philanthropy. They were expected to render some service to their benefactor in the New World. Numbers of them went, of course, as personal or bonded servants with the usual indentures, but those who had higher skills or qualifications were in a better position to bargain. Such people could be of great practical use to anyone who intended to establish himself in the colonies in land, commerce or industry. Numerous individual contracts

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14. The Lords Proprietors of Carolina to the Committee of the Privy Council, 24 Oct. 1726, Cal.S.P. (A. & W.I.) 1726-7, p.151; 1728-9, p.61.
15. M. X. Sullivan, "Extracts from American History and Biographies", Jn.Am.Ir.Hist.Soc., Vol.IX; Dublin Intelligencer, 16 June 1730.
16. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 25-28 Sept. 1773.

there undoubtedly were, with a free passage forming an important part of the bargain.

The passenger trade from Ireland to the colonies in the eighteenth century was, in fact, a complex movement. In its widest sense it included passengers, redemptioners and indentured servants. The last two groups will be specifically considered in the next chapter. Passengers, in the strict sense, included people from a wide range of incomes: a wealthy minority at one end and those who accepted free passages at the other. It can be stated with certainty that most of them were emigrants. Among the fare-paying passengers mingled sometimes a few who were travelling to America on business or as visitors, but the Atlantic was still too formidable for there to be many of these. (17)

In the first decade of the eighteenth century passenger traffic was certainly light. There had been heavy shipping losses in the war that ended in 1697 and now another war was claiming its victims on the high seas. (18) Many merchant ships were on loan to the government for war purposes and large-scale emigration would not have been possible or advisable. (19)

In 1703 Rev. John Richardson's proposal to lead about 500 people from the Belfast area to Virginia or Maryland was turned down

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17. The most intrepid Atlantic travellers in those times, apart from wealthy planters, appear to have been clergymen.
 18. R. Davis, The Rise of the English shipping Industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, London, 1962, pp.316-18.
 19. Ibid., pp.330-2.

by the Lords of the Treasury partly on those grounds. Richardson was a Church of Ireland clergyman who had applied for the Bounty for himself. The Treasury added another reason for refusing his application: namely, that the intending emigrants, being mostly farmers "of some substance" were not likely to gain by the venture.⁽²⁰⁾ Here is a clear example of government unwillingness to promote the emigration of industrious Protestants from Ireland to the colonies - a movement which soon after nothing could prevent.

Once the war ended, it was evident that there had been a curb on emigration and in 1714 the colonies began to report increased immigration from Irish ports.⁽²¹⁾ In this there appear two significant and mutually exclusive elements, Quakers and Presbyterians. The former were already, in a sense, seasoned emigrants and, by reason of their shipping connections, were probably in a better position to secure transport. It was probably Quakers who had faced the hostile Atlantic in 1711 on board the "Brown Gally" which sailed to Pennsylvania from Cork,⁽²²⁾ then an important Quaker centre. Many Quaker emigrants at this time entrusted themselves to Jeremiah Cowman, the master of the "Sizargh" of Whitehaven, who brought to Philadelphia more than seventy passengers from Waterford in 1716 and about one hundred from Dublin in 1717.⁽²³⁾

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20. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1703, pp.263, 269-70; the Treasury provided the funds for the bounty after the Bishop of London had approved the application.
21. Bolton, Scotch-Irish, pp.17-18 and Appendix I.
22. The Dublin Gazette, 17-20 Nov. 1711.
23. Bolton, op.cit., p.270; Myers, Immigration, pp.94-5.

Quaker emigrants from Ireland are known to have gone "almost to a man" to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century,⁽²⁴⁾ so the development of a passenger trade from Dublin and Cork to Boston in the post-war years reveals Presbyterian influence. As earlier stated, Irish Presbyterians, especially clergymen, had always felt an affinity with Puritan New England. Well before the end of the seventeenth century ties of intellect and sentiment already linked them with their co-religionists in these northern colonies. The Presbyterians of Boston long remembered the Irish Donation, consisting of nearly £1,000 and a ship-load of provisions which were sent from Dublin at a time of distress in New England.⁽²⁵⁾ This effort owed much to the Mather brothers, Increase and Samuel. The latter was minister of a church in Dublin and Increase received part of his education at Trinity College before becoming pastor of the North Church in Boston. In 1675, when the poorer inhabitants of New England were facing famine as a result of the depredations of Indians, Increase Mather wrote letters to Ireland appealing for help. The response was greatest from the Presbyterians of Dublin, who had known his brother. Relief was sent in 1676 in the "Katharine".⁽²⁶⁾

24. Myers, Immigration, p.42.

25. G. F. Donovan, The pre-revolutionary Irish in Massachusetts 1620-1775, 1931, p.130; Hall, M. G. (ed.), The Autobiography of Increase Mather 1639-1723, Mass., 1962, pp.281-302.

26. ~~Donovan~~. Donovan, op. cit., p.131.

After this episode closer links were established between New England and Ireland. In fact, Presbyterian leaders in Ireland were planning to found their own colony in America, to be called New Ireland, a proposal which was approved by the King in Council in 1700.⁽²⁷⁾ Nothing came of it, but, in the years after 1704, Presbyterians had more cause to contemplate their mass emigration from Ireland. They then made approaches to the authorities of Massachusetts. At this very time the government of Massachusetts Bay absolutely refused to allow the Earl of Limerick to settle a colony of Irish Catholics on his lands there but did indicate a willingness to receive "any others".⁽²⁸⁾ Presbyterians in Ireland, encouraged by this and the remembrance of old friendship, began to prepare for emigration and as soon as the war ended they started leaving the country.

Emigration on a large scale may have been initiated by Protestant Dissenters in Ireland, but it soon attracted the attention of other persons who strove to keep it going. Shippers, of course, were quick to realise the potentialities of a steady passenger trade between Ireland and the colonies. The following advertisement, which is the earliest that is so far available, appeared in a Dublin newspaper in 1719:⁽²⁹⁾

27. Donovan, op.cit., pp.17-20.

28. Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1708/9 - 1714/15, p.435.

29. The Dublin Courant, 10 Feb. 1718-19.

"The good Ship call'd the Prince Frederick of White-Haven, Burthen about 180 Tuns, being a New Ship and well fitted, Mr. John Hicks Commander, intends to be at Dublin about the middle of February and Ready to Sail for Boston in New England about the 15 of March. This is to give notice that if any Person or Persons have a mind to Transport themselves or Family's, to the aforesaid place, they may be accommodated on Reasonable Terms. And if any have a mind to engage themselves as Servants for a Term of Years they shall have all due incouragement by Mr. William Hutchinson Merchant in Dublin and Mr. James Arbuckles in Belfast."

Many such advertisements were to appear in later years. They indicate that an increasing number of merchant-passenger ships sailed directly from or belonged to merchants in Ireland. The passenger trade had developed considerably since the days when Quaker emigrants, unless they formed groups of thirty or more, usually had to travel to England for a ship to America.⁽³⁰⁾ The efforts of shippers and their agents to make the fullest use of their specially designed vessels must be counted as one further impetus to emigration in the eighteenth century.

The outflow of emigrants from Ireland which began in 1714 appeared to reach its peak in 1720. It was in that year that Robert Temple's five ships reached Boston. At least three of them had sailed from Cork and one came from Dublin.⁽³¹⁾ In the same

30. Myers, Narratives, p.191; Balderston, Claypoole, pp.201; 232-3.

31. O'Brien, A hidden phase, pp.309-11.

year a ship arrived in New England with about one hundred passengers from Dublin and Londonderry, probably another indication of Presbyterian organisation. (32)

The natural tendency of Presbyterian emigrants to make for Boston has already been explained, but by 1720 immigrants from Ireland had spread into most of the other colonies. These were described as mostly "Protestant families", often poor and already absorbed in linen manufacture. (33) The first great movement from Ulster was now under way and accounted for many of these.

After 1720 the ~~main~~ stream of emigration from Ireland changed direction. The Puritan communities of New England actively disliked the Irish Presbyterians once they had arrived. In that year the Massachusetts Bay Co. actually passed legislation to keep out the Irish whatever their religion. (34) That kind of legislation was never wholly effective but, from then on, Boston attracted far fewer Irish immigrants than did the city of brotherly love, Philadelphia.

Pennsylvania, with its widely publicised Charter of Toleration, could certainly attract people of all religious denominations, but the port of Philadelphia also received many immigrants who were destined for other colonies. It occupied a position roughly half way between the northern and southern colonies and so it became the

32. Donovan, Irish in Massachusetts, p.79.

33. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1712-20, pp.76, 300, 357; 1720-1, pp.99, 130, 211, 418.

34. M. X. Sullivan, "Some Irish Contributions to early American History", Jn.Am.Ir.Hist.Soc., Vol.IX.

clearing centre for the continental empire.⁽³⁵⁾ Moreover, owing to the Navigation Acts, direct trade between Ireland and some of the colonies was restricted so that emigrants for the southern colonies, in particular, had to pass through Philadelphia.⁽³⁶⁾ Therefore, although many Irish emigrants set sail for "the famous City of Philadelphia", not all of them settled in Pennsylvania.⁽³⁷⁾

In the late 1720's a recession in the linen trade together with famine must have given satisfaction to all those who were seeking to promote emigration from Ireland. Then so many people left the country that in 1729 the Privy Council proposed that emigration should be stopped except under licence.⁽³⁸⁾ The north of Ireland was stated to be "in a ferment",⁽³⁹⁾ but Protestants were also leaving the south of the country in numbers sufficient to cause anxiety. An address of Protestant Dissenting Ministers of Dublin and the South of Ireland to the King in 1728 points out that owing to the religious Test many Dissenters connected with the linen industry, "which is the principal support of this nation, and in which they have a very considerable share", were emigrating to the colonies.⁽⁴⁰⁾

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- 35. M. J. O'Brien, "Shipping Statistics of the Philadelphia Custom House 1733-74", Jn.Am.Ir.Hist.Soc., Vol.XXII.
 - 36. W. L. Saunders, The Colonial Records of North Carolina, V, Preface, pp.xi-xlii.
 - 37. Advertisement in Faulkner's Dublin Journal, Feb. 1763; "flourishing" is an adjective that occurs more frequently.
 - 38. Acts of the Privy Council, III, 205.
 - 39. Boulter, Letters, I, 209-10.
 - 40. Address of Protestant Dissenting Ministers of Dublin and the South of Ireland to the King, T.S.P.I., June 1727 to Dec.1729, T.659, pp.20-3.

Indeed, available shipping sources indicate that heavy emigration took place from Dublin in 1729, most of it to Pennsylvania. It is known that Quaker emigration reached its height in that year.⁽⁴¹⁾ It is unlikely that Quakers accounted for all of this emigration from Dublin, but 1729 emerges as the year when emigration from that port to the colonies in the eighteenth century reached its highest peak. At least fourteen vessels are found to have sailed or were advertised to sail with passengers from Dublin to Philadelphia alone.⁽⁴²⁾

Not all the emigrants who sailed from Dublin in 1729 belonged to that neighbourhood or even to southern Ireland. The "Nathaniel and John", for instance, had taken on 150 passengers at Londonderry before coming to Dublin whence it sailed for Pennsylvania.⁽⁴³⁾ In the same year the "Hibernia" had come to Dublin from Waterford before sailing to America.⁽⁴⁴⁾ It was not unusual for ships to call at more than one Irish port to pick up additional passengers or freight. Some ship-owners and masters appear to have had connections with two or more ports.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Diversions might also be made for the convenience of influential passengers; and there were a few cases of emigrants changing their minds when already at sea and having to be landed at another port.⁽⁴⁶⁾

41. Myers, Immigration, p.48.

42. Appendix C.

43. Dublin Gazette, 12-16 Aug. 1729.

44. Ibid., 2-6 Sept. 1729.

45. Dublin and Newry were often linked in voyages to and from America; the "Newry Packet", for example, sailed from either port, Appx.C.

46. "Extracts from the Journal of Charles Clinton kept during a voyage from Ireland to Pennsylvania, 1729", The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXVI, 112-14.

In the 1730's emigration from Dublin continued with Pennsylvania still the leading destination.⁽⁴⁷⁾ One sign of Dublin's growing connections with this colony was the appearance in 1733 of a new vessel of 240 tons owned and commanded by "Citizens and Inhabitants of Dublin" and named the "Penn Galley". It had "exceeding good accommodation for Passengers",⁽⁴⁸⁾ but its career, for some reason, was short, for it was advertised for sale in 1737.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Another sign of Dublin's interest in the mainland colonies was two inns, used as shipping agencies, one on John's Quay and the other on Aston's Quay, and both called "The New York and Philadelphia Arms".⁽⁵⁰⁾ In the 1730's both these colonial ports were becoming competitors in supplying flaxseed for the Irish market.⁽⁵¹⁾ The flaxseed trade is often cited as a link with emigration; all Pennsylvania's exports of flaxseed went to Ireland.⁽⁵²⁾ However, although New York often sent greater quantities of flaxseed to Ireland Philadelphia remained the more popular destination for emigrants.⁽⁵³⁾ In fact, Irish emigrants had started to flock to Pennsylvania years before the flaxseed trade became important.⁽⁵⁴⁾

47. Appendix C.

48. Pue's Occurrences, 26-29 May, 1733; 31 Dec. - 4 Jan. 1734.

49. Dublin Daily Advertiser, 14 Jan. 1736-7.

50. The Dublin Courant, 13-17 Aug. 1745.

51. P. L. White, The Beekmans of New York, 1956, pp.242-6.

52. A. L. Jensen, The maritime commerce of colonial Philadelphia, 1963, p.9.

53. Customs 16/1, P.R.O., London; Jensen, op.cit., pp.84-7.

54. Flaxseed trade probably began in 1730's, *ibid.*

In 1735 New York, in an effort to attract more immigrants, made a generous offer to Irish Protestants of land at the very odd annual rent of one shilling and ninepence farthing for every hundred acres. The land had recently been purchased from the Mohawks Indians and ships were declared to be ready in Dublin harbour for intending emigrants. (55)

Letters from successful emigrants to people still lingering in Ireland no doubt also encouraged the movement westward, but there seem to be few of these. It is known that Quakers wrote letters to fellow-Friends in Ireland (56) and many other emigrants must have been literate. Yet, even if more letters were to be discovered, they would need to be viewed with caution. Shipping and colonial agents were known to have dictated and even invented letters from settlers in America in order to attract more emigrants. (57) One letter purported to have been written by a Scotsman in New York belongs to this time. There is "no scant of Breed here", he wrote, "this is a bonney Country"; "here aw that a Man works for is his ane"; "there is servants come here out of Ereland and hae serv'd their Time here, wha are now Justices of the Peeces". (58) Whether authentic or not, the letter, obviously dictated, cunningly indicates that there was

55. Dublin Weekly Journal, 25 Jan. 1734/5; Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.), 1735-6, p.252.

56. Myers, Immigration, pp.50-80.

57. The Intelligencer, 1729, No.19.

58. Letter from James Murray to a Minister in Tyrone, dated 18 March 1735 at New York, Haliday Pamphlets, R.I.A., 126, 1736, No.3.

opportunity and plenty in the colonies for certain people. It makes a combined appeal to the starving peasant, the tithe-ridden farmer and the Dissenter excluded from service to the Crown. Many people in Ireland would have been tempted by it.

In this decade Arthur Dobbs, who was then Surveyor-General of Ireland, was in a favourable position to promote emigration to North Carolina. In 1735 he received a grant of 6,000 acres in New Hanover County on a branch of the Black River.⁽⁵⁹⁾ In that year he arranged to send over some "poor Protestant families" to raise hemp and flax in the colony.⁽⁶⁰⁾ About thirty Irish families shortly afterwards settled in North Carolina on the lands which had been granted to Dobbs "and other gentlemen in Ireland".⁽⁶¹⁾

It was not only poor families who emigrated to the colonies in these years. In 1731 Mr. Emerson, "an eminent and rich" looking-glass maker was reported to be giving up his business in Dublin in order to emigrate with his family to Pennsylvania, "where there is great Encouragement for Proficients in his Business".⁽⁶²⁾

Protestant immigrants from Ireland, however, were still unwelcome in certain parts of New England - several families of them had been driven out of Maine in 1729.⁽⁶³⁾ At their own request, they

59. C.O.5/312, P.R.O., London, p.67.

60. J. R. Shute, "The Irish in North Carolina", Jn.R.S.A.I., 1932, pp.116-19; Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol.5, pp.xxx-1.

61. Ibid.

62. Dublin Intelligence, 30 Mar. 1731.

63. Acts of the Privy Council, III, 185.

very conveniently fitted into a scheme to settle Nova Scotia which was announced in 1730. The proposal was that this colony, formerly French Acadie, should be settled with Protestants from Ireland and Germany who would counteract the influence of the French inhabitants in any future war.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The irony of the situation is that, at this very time, French Protestants (Huguenots) were being welcomed into and treated with special favour in Ireland!⁽⁶⁵⁾

64. Cal.T.B. & P. 1729-30, pp.417, 421; 1735-8, p.492.

65. T/14/12 The Irish Book, IX, pp.120-1, 164, 213, 463, P.R.O., London.

CHAPTER IV

SOME INDICATIONS OF THE NATURE AND VOLUME OF PASSENGER TRAFFIC, 1740-1775

The anticipated war with France began in 1740. One of the first consequences was an abrupt, but temporary, check on emigration from Ireland. Embargoes were placed on all outward bound vessels "until His Majesty's fleet is manned" and also until arrangements had been made to protect ships carrying provisions to the colonies.⁽¹⁾ Once the embargoes were lifted, emigration could and did take place after 1740, but the pattern of it had altered. Those people who were nervous and could afford to delay their departure for the colonies probably did so. It was one thing for the government to arrange convoys for ships taking provisions to the colonial garrisons, but another to be concerned about mere emigrants.⁽²⁾ Many of the poorer people in Ireland, however, were suffering from the bad harvests and famine that occurred during these years;⁽³⁾ some of them must have considered there to be less risk in sailing to America in war-time than of starving to death in Ireland. Unlike the war years early in the century, there was now no shortage of ships to take people across the Atlantic, although shipping losses in this war too proved to be heavy.⁽⁴⁾

1. T/14/12, The Irish Book, IX, P.R.O., pp.167, 190.
2. One expedient that was tried during this war was of shipping provisions from Cork first to Southampton, there to be trans-shipped for the Atlantic voyage under convoy, *ibid.*, p.245.
3. M. Drake, "The Irish Demographic Crisis of 1740-1", Historical Studies, VI, 1968, pp.105-22.
4. Davis, English Shipping, pp.316-18.

Advertisements, even if fewer in number, continued to appear in the Dublin newspapers. Although many merchant-passenger ships in those times were mounted with guns, even in peace time, intending passengers for the "Duke of Cumberland", bound from Dublin to Virginia in 1745, must have been reassured and perhaps excited by the information that it carried:

"ten Carriage and ten Swivel Guns, and Men in Proportion, with a Letter of Marque to cruise against the French and Spaniards". (5)

Present knowledge of emigrant shipping from Dublin in those war years, however, suggests that fewer people travelled as passengers. (6) If it had not been for the increasing business of transporting convicts, shippers might have had a very lean time between 1740 and 1748. (7)

After the war, the passenger trade evidently revived as the colonies sent out fresh and more urgent appeals for settlers. (8) The recent threat to their security and the status quo restored by the peace terms made them apprehensive of another conflict in North America. It was now vital that the frontier regions should be more heavily manned and the mainland colonies set no limit to the number of people they could absorb. Efforts made by shippers to fill their vessels were not in vain and between 1748 and 1756 Ireland provided many new settlers for the British possessions across the Atlantic.

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5. Dublin Courant, 30 Mar. - 2 Apr. 1745.
 6. Appendix C.
 7. Chapter VI, this work.
 8. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 23-26 Apr. 1748; Munster Journal, 5 Feb. 1749/50.

For these years sources are less rare and it is possible to learn more about emigration from the southern provinces of Ireland. Emigrants were leaving most of the southern Irish ports for nearly every colony, including Newfoundland and the West Indies.⁽⁹⁾ In general their numbers do not appear to have been massive, but there were one or two exceptions.

In 1753 a Dublin newspaper reported that 35 ships had sailed in that year from Waterford and Ross to New England and Nova Scotia with over 4,000 people, mostly Protestants.⁽¹⁰⁾ Newspaper reports can be inaccurate, especially in quoting figures, but here, at least, the arithmetic is credible, for 35 ships could carry 4,000 people. This was indeed an extraordinary volume of emigration to have taken place from a southern Irish locality within the space of one year. It may well have been a unique occurrence. Its cause, according to the report, was "Dairies and the Want of Tillage" which, in the neighbourhood of Waterford, could have been extensive. This is a cry, however, which was frequently taken up by contemporaries when accounting for economic difficulties in southern Ireland.⁽¹¹⁾ The 4,000 emigrants referred to are still clothed in mystery, but they could perhaps have been the victims of an acute linen recession that occurred in 1752-3.⁽¹²⁾

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9. Appendix C.
 10. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 19-23 June, 1753.
 11. Faulkner's Journal, 19-23 Mar. 1754, for one example.
 12. G. O'Brien, Economic History of Ireland in the eighteenth century, 1918, pp.202-3; A. Downey in Economic Interpretations of the History of Waterford, pp.26-7, refers to several linen enterprises in Waterford in 1746.

Meanwhile, the efforts of Arthur Dobbs to promote the settlement and economic wealth of the British Empire continued. In 1754 he himself emigrated as Governor of North Carolina to be welcomed there by another Ulsterman, Matthew Rowan, President of the Council.⁽¹³⁾ Some emigration from Dublin and the West of Ireland, as well as from Ulster, to that colony probably owed something to their influence. In 1755 the "Bunbury" bound for North Carolina was scheduled to call at Killala after sailing from Dublin and there were agents in Ballina, Castlebar and Castleconnor.⁽¹⁴⁾ There was obviously some sort of organisation here, but exactly who or what was behind it is, at present, uncertain.⁽¹⁵⁾

After the renewal of war in 1756 the traffic in passengers again declined somewhat - although they were still offered plenty of encouragement in advertisements. In 1758, the topically named "King Frederick", taking provisions for H.M. Forces from Dublin to New York, offered accommodation for a few passengers.⁽¹⁶⁾ In the same year Captain Troy of the "Hibernia", sailing from Dublin to Philadelphia and New York, was pleased to announce that because he had "several passengers of distinction" on board he would not take any convicts.⁽¹⁷⁾ In that year too the "Ann and Rebecca", bound from Dublin to Antigua,

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13. W. L. Saunders, ed., Colonial Records of North Carolina, Vol.V, Preface, pp.iii-iv.
 14. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 5-8 July, 1755.
 15. A settlement of "Industrious Northern Protestants" in Mayo may be relevant here, Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 29 July - 8 Aug. 1752.
 16. Ibid., Sept. 1758.
 17. Foe's occurrences, Aug. 1758.

and equipped with guns and a letter of marque to cruise against the French, had room for passengers.⁽¹⁸⁾

Although shipping losses in this war were less severe owing to greater and more efficient protection,⁽¹⁹⁾ there occurred at least one major tragedy involving emigrants from Ireland at this time. In 1761 the "Duke of Tuscany", which had eighteen guns, was bound from Waterford to Newfoundland when it was attacked by a French privateer. The "Tuscany" exploded and out of 211 people on board, all except Captain Power and four other persons were lost.⁽²⁰⁾

As the Seven Years War drew to an end the passenger trade from Dublin and other southern ports appears to have revived quickly. From then until the American War of Independence it assumed interesting proportions.⁽²¹⁾ There was undoubtedly much to encourage it on both sides of the Atlantic. The opportunities for expansion by the British colonies in North America were greater than ever and many more settlers were needed. In Ireland, although the economy was expanding, the population was also increasing at a greater rate than before. Economic difficulties, therefore, were more keenly and widely felt when they did occur.

The 1760's in Ireland were notable for agrarian discontent, especially in Munster, where the Whiteboys created terror. Here the specific grievances were high tithes, rack-rents, the hearth-tax and

18. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, Aug. 1758.

19. Davis, English Shipping, pp. 316-18.

20. Dublin Courier, 25-27 May, 1761.

21. Appendix C.

enclosures.⁽²²⁾ The potato crop failed in 1765, as did the grain harvest in 1766 and 1767, and beggars again flocked into Dublin City, a sure indication of deep distress in rural areas.⁽²³⁾ The steady growth of linen manufacture in these years ensured that any recession in the industry, however temporary, threatened the prosperity of growing numbers of people. The major depression of 1773 caused much emigration from linen manufacturing areas in the south and west of Ireland.⁽²⁴⁾ Between the years 1762 and 1775, in fact, the colonies received their heaviest ever influx of immigrants from Ireland.

In the early 1760's several large-scale plantation schemes brought more Protestants from Ireland to New York. In 1763 John Embury and 24 others, who were said to have come from Limerick and belonged to the established church, presented a petition for 25,000 acres in Albany "for the purpose of forming an immediate settlement and for the introduction and promotion of the linen and hempen manufacture".⁽²⁵⁾ In the same year William Gilliland of New York city petitioned for a grant of 60,000 acres "for the settlement of a number of families daily expected from Ireland."⁽²⁶⁾ In 1765 a survey was ordered for 34,800 acres for Robert Harpur "for the

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- 22. E. Curtis, A History of Ireland, London, 1961, pp.305-6.
 - 23. Cal.H.O. Papers, 1760-5, pp.630-1; Dublin Mercury, 10-14 Feb.1767; 17-21 Mar. 1767, references to imports of wheat and flour from the colonies; Boston Gasette, 19 Oct. 1767; Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 12-15 July, 1766.
 - 24. Crawford, "Linen Industry", p.30.
 - 25. Cal.New York Land Papers 1643-1803, p.318; M. J. O'Brien, "Grants of land to Irish settlers in the Province of New York", Jn.A.I.Hist.Soc., Vol.XIV.
 - 26. Cal.New York Land Papers, p.324.

accommodation of sundry Protestant families from Ireland". Harpur was planning to transport 200 families within seven years.⁽²⁷⁾ It is not known where all these Protestant families came from, but in the 1760's there appears to have been some regular passenger trade from both Dublin and Galway to New York.⁽²⁸⁾

The sparseness of records makes it difficult to assess the passenger trade of Cork with the colonies. In 1769, however, it certainly was exceptional. At least 20 passenger vessels were advertised or were reported to have sailed in that year alone, chiefly to ports in Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland.⁽²⁹⁾

Agrarian discontent in Munster cannot entirely account for so much emigrant traffic. It has been observed that a sudden rise in the volume of emigration from eighteenth-century Ireland was usually associated with some industrial failure. There are reasons for believing that many of the emigrants of 1769 were textile workers. In September of that year the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland wrote to Viscount Weymouth that no less than 3,800 looms had, within a few years, fallen into disuse at Cork and its neighbourhood owing to the illegal importation of calicoes etc. from India. He added that many of the unemployed were starving and many others had emigrated to France.⁽³⁰⁾

27. Cal. New York Land Papers, pp. 317, 320-1, 359.

28. Appendix C.

29. Ibid.

30. S.P. 63/430, P.R.O., p. 85; a manufactory at Douglas near Cork produced sail-cloth for the home market, B.M. ADD. 21.134, f. 79.

There is also, in the newspapers of that time, a hint that Roman Catholic landlords or merchants were now emigrating from Ireland to America. Several cryptic and possibly related statements were published. In 1766 "some Gentlemen of Fortune" were reported to be trying to obtain land in the colonies which they intended to settle with people from their own estates⁽³¹⁾ - surely not an unusual occurrence in that age. Two years later, however, a more specific report stated that "Irish Papists" were rumoured to be "selling their Estates in great numbers and retiring every Day to the continent of America, where they can exercise their religious Principles unmolested - a cursed Falsehood without any Foundation". The closing denial presumably applies to religious toleration for Catholics in the colonies and would be expected in a journal published for the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland.⁽³²⁾ In 1770 the "Dublin Mercury" was even more informative: "We learn from Corke that a number of Roman Catholics of that place are selling off their estates and effects in order to retire to America".⁽³³⁾ The heavy emigration from Cork in 1769 probably owed something to this movement too.

It would have been surprising if the very people who had benefited from commercial contacts with the colonies over a long period should not have considered emigrating to them for some reason. The

31. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 12-15 July, 1766.

32. Ibid., 5-9 Jan. 1768; R. Munter, The History of the Irish Newspaper 1685-1760, Cambridge, 1967, p.18.

33. Dublin Mercury, 27-30 Jan. 1770.

Irish provision trade had enriched many Catholic merchants, farmers and landlords in southern Ireland.⁽³⁴⁾ The absorption of Catholic Quebec into the American empire after 1763 may have turned the scale for those who had hitherto refrained from joining the ship-loads of servants and Protestants who were sailing to the colonies. Maryland rather than Quebec, however, emerges as their likely destination.

A notable increase in trade between Ireland and Maryland took place between 1769 and 1773.⁽³⁵⁾ Baltimore rivalled Philadelphia in attracting emigrants from Dublin, Cork and Limerick, in particular, during the few years before the American Revolution.⁽³⁶⁾ Maryland had long had a reputation for religious toleration. One advertisement for a sailing from Limerick to Baltimore in 1772 described it as a place "where there is liberty of conscience".⁽³⁷⁾ Since Protestant Dissenters in Ireland certainly needed no reminding of that at such a late stage in colonial history, this advertisement may have appealed to Roman Catholics.

Whoever they were or to whatever religion they belonged, there are many other references to wealthy or consequential passengers emigrating from Ireland to the colonies in these years. Some of them

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34. Beckett, Modern Ireland, p.170; M. Wall, "Catholics in economic life", The formation of the Irish economy, L. M. Cullen, ed., pp.38, 40, 42; M. Wall, "The rise of a Catholic middle class in eighteenth-century Ireland", Irish Historical Studies, XI, pp.98-100.
35. Customs 16/1, P.R.O., London.
36. Appendix C.
37. Limerick Chronicle, June 1772.

were considered to be too genteel to share shipping accommodation with convicts or indentured servants. No servants, except private ones, were to be taken in the "Countess of Donegal" bound from Dublin to New York in 1767,⁽³⁸⁾ again in 1769⁽³⁹⁾ and in 1774,⁽⁴⁰⁾ nor on the "Earl of Chatham", Dublin to Philadelphia,⁽⁴¹⁾ and the "Lovely Jane", Dublin to New York, in 1768,⁽⁴²⁾ nor in the "John", Dublin to Virginia, in 1775.⁽⁴³⁾ On board the "Sarah", Dublin to Philadelphia, in 1773, were 20 dozen of French port and white wine for "the sole use of the passengers".⁽⁴⁴⁾

While there can be endless speculation as to who were all these wealthy and influential passengers, the indications are that most of the emigrants were far from affluent. One of these "Gentlemen of Consequence" who had emigrated from Ireland, when writing from New York in 1774, evidently thought that most of the Irish whom he observed pouring into the colonies were poor peasants.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Allowing for the fact that people who had spent many weeks on board a small overcrowded ship would not be looking their best, their impoverished appearance owed much to the serious industrial depression of the early 1770's. In those times once the source of income stopped it did

38. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, Feb. 1767.

39. Ibid., Mar. 1769.

40. Ibid., Apr. 1774.

41. Ibid., June 1768.

42. Ibid., 27 Aug. - 1 Sept. 1768.

43. Ibid., Mar. 1775.

44. Letter from the Custom House, Dublin, 25 June 1773, T.64/312, P.R.O., London.

45. "Letter from a Gentleman of Consequence, a Native of Ireland, settled at New York, dated New York, 28 Feb. 1774, to his brother in Dublin", Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 26-28 Apr. 1774.

not take long for whole families to be reduced to destitution.

It has been estimated that as many as 10,000 weavers left Ireland for the colonies between 1772 and 1775.⁽⁴⁶⁾ While these and other emigrants came from all parts of the country there is little doubt that a majority of them were from Ulster. Dublin newspapers of this time frequently reported heavy emigration from the north of Ireland, but gave no indication that anything on the same scale was happening in the south of the country. In July 1773 a New York newspaper published some information that had come directly from Dublin about emigration from Ireland. In one particular week of that year, 14 ships were advertised to take passengers from Belfast to North America; 8 from Newry; 6 from Londonderry; 2 from Cork, 1 from Galway; 1 from Limerick. These figures alone give some idea of the proportion of emigrants from the north as compared with the south of Ireland.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Moreover, not only did more ships sail from Ulster, but they often carried far greater numbers of people. In 1774 the "Charlotte" brought 110 passengers from Waterford to Philadelphia⁽⁴⁸⁾ and in 1775 the "Recovery", bound from Dublin to Philadelphia, was met at sea with 150 emigrants on board.⁽⁴⁹⁾ On the other hand, ships were then leaving Ulster ports with 300 to 500 or more people on board.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Few of the vessels in the trade were

46. Beckett, Modern Ireland, p.206.

47. New York Gazette, 12 July 1773.

48. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 22-24 Sept. 1774.

49. Ibid., 16-19 Sept. 1775.

50. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 13-15 Oct. 1772; 17-19 Sept. 1776; Massachusetts Spy, 10 Sept. 1772; Dickson, Ulster emigration, Appendix C, pp.235-7.

designed to carry so many passengers and there must have been considerable overcrowding. Indeed, so many people wished to leave Ireland in the early 1770's that there were not enough ships to accommodate them. (51)

According to observations made on both sides of the Atlantic emigration from Ireland to the colonies reached its peak in 1773. The numbers of people arriving from Ireland in that year were not only the highest in colonial history, but far exceeded the figures for any other country. In four months, from August to November 1773, 6,222 Irish immigrants passed through certain ports in North America. In the same period the total number of immigrants from England, Scotland, the Isle of Man and Germany amounted to only 1,456 at the same ports. (52) In that summer no fewer than 3,500 passengers from Ireland arrived at Philadelphia within the space of a fortnight. (53) Here the clearing centres had difficulty in dealing with so many immigrants at once and there was much suffering in consequence. (54) Once they had been cleared Irish immigrants generally pushed their way southwards or westwards, some of them even reaching the banks of the Mississippi. (55)

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51. J. A. Froude, The English in Ireland, 1874, II, 125; many Irish people emigrated in these years from Liverpool, Bristol and London, New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1910, LXIV, 19-25, 104-14; G. Sherwood, American Colonists in English Records, 2nd series, London, 1933, pp.197-200.
 52. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 5-7 July 1774.
 53. Ibid., 28-30 Sept. 1773.
 54. Cork Evening Post, 16 Sept. 1773; Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 10-13 Apr. 1773.
 55. Massachusetts Gazette, 22 July 1773.

In 1773 it was estimated in Dublin that about 400,000 people had gone to America from Ireland within the previous forty years⁽⁵⁶⁾ - not, perhaps, an accurate assessment but, at least, an indication of how massive this movement appeared to the contemporary observer. Nevertheless, the numbers of eighteenth-century emigrants were considerable and, whether they travelled as passengers, redemptioners or indentured servants, those whose business it had been to transport all these people across the Atlantic must have been well pleased with their profits.

56. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 10-13 Apr. 1773; another estimate is that 385,000 "Ulster-Scots" came to America in the eighteenth century, Slosser, op.cit., p.142.

CHAPTER V

THE IMPORTANCE OF INDENTURED SERVANTS AND REDEMPTIONERS IN EMIGRATION FROM IRELAND TO NORTH AMERICA

One historian has estimated that indentured servants accounted for between a half and two-thirds of all the white people who emigrated to the American colonies.⁽¹⁾ There is little doubt that a very large proportion of the emigrants from Ireland belonged to this category. Indentured service has been described by many historians, but it is necessary to outline again its main features for a fuller understanding of its impact on Irish emigration.

As indicated in a previous chapter, some servants indentured privately with families who were emigrating to the colonies.⁽²⁾ They received a free passage in return for a number of years bonded service. In 1731, for example, William Humphreys of Dame Street, Dublin, a chandler, was planning to emigrate with three other "Credible Families" to Pennsylvania in the "Sisargh". He advertised for "Handicraft Tradesmen or others" to indent for service with him and his associates.⁽³⁾ Those who preferred to travel independently at their own expense could offer themselves as bonded servants on arrival. The majority of servants, however, made their contracts with shipping agents or masters at the port of departure in the

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1. M. A. Jones, American Immigration, Chicago, 1960, p.9; Smith, Colonists in bondage, estimates that more than a half of all the persons who came to the colonies south of New England were servants, p.3.
 2. Head-right system encouraged this; Geiser, op.cit., pp.10-11, describes schemes in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.
 3. Dublin Weekly Journal, 13 Mar. 1730/1.

presence of two magistrates. The latter had to see that the bonds or indentures were officially signed and registered.⁽⁴⁾ In Dublin the Lord Mayor often witnessed the signing of indentures and specially printed forms were used.⁽⁵⁾

By the terms of these contracts, servants of either sex would indent for a period of two to seven years, but in most cases four.⁽⁶⁾ They were to receive a free passage to the colonies and, on arrival, the captain of the vessel would arrange for them to be bonded to an employer. In practice, servants were usually sold to the highest bidder of cash or goods that in value exceeded the cost of their passage.⁽⁷⁾ The servants were then bound to those who had purchased them for the length of time stated on their indentures. From the legal point of view, their status during servitude was something between that of minors and that of slaves; they became, in law, their master's property until their time had expired. Servants were included in the inventories of estates and their value was estimated according to the length of time they had still to serve.⁽⁸⁾ During their period of bondage they could be bought and sold, bequeathed in wills or won in bets.⁽⁹⁾ Their situation has often been compared with

4. J. A. Doyle, The English in America, London, 1882, pp.512-14; Smith, Colonists in bondage, p.81; Appendix A.
5. Smith, Colonists in bondage, pp.17-18; Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 8-11 Sept. 1750; L. F. Stock, Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America, IV, 857.
6. Dictionary of American History, IV, 432.
7. Ibid.
8. Smith, Colonists in bondage, pp.228-33; Nettels, American Civilisation, pp.319-24; Fleet, Colonial Abstracts, IX, 85.
9. Smith, op.cit., p.233.

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that of slaves, the main difference being that the slave's bondage lasted for life. They were indeed sometimes called "white slaves";⁽¹⁰⁾ yet, destined as they were to be integrated into colonial society, they could neither regard themselves nor be regarded as slaves.

At the end of their servitude all white servants were emancipated and, according to general regulations, were then to be provided with certain "freedom dues". These varied from colony to colony and from time to time, but they were meant to help the freed servant to establish himself as an independent settler. They might include clothing, tools or implements, a gun, which would be necessary in the frontier zone, a quantity of plantation produce, livestock and, in many cases, a plot of land, usually fifty acres.⁽¹¹⁾ The servants who indented with Mr. Josias Persivall at Kinsale in 1677 were to have £10 to £12 each on the expiry of their servitude.⁽¹²⁾ Most importantly, no stigma was attached to indentured service, for, once released from bondage, former servants and their families became free citizens - and children who had been born legitimately during this type of servitude were themselves free.⁽¹³⁾

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10. A. Gwynn, ed., Documents relating to the Irish in the West Indies, Analecta Hibernica, IV, 250.
 11. Smith, op.cit., pp.238-40; J. Brickell, Natural History of North Carolina, Dublin, 1737, pp.267-70; Dict.Am.Hist., III, 85.
 12. Charles Daly £10 after three years, Dermot Holohane £12 after four years, Knogher O'Colligs £12 after five years, Edmond Glannaneene £12 after four years, R. Caulfield, ed., The Council Book of the Corporation of Kinsale 1652-1800, pp.148-9.
 13. Dict.Am.Hist., III, 85.

The actual conditions of indentured service were such that most people who entered it were young and single, although married couples were accepted.⁽¹⁴⁾ Many children, no matter how young - usually orphans or bastards - were also indentured and, as a rule, they had to serve until the age of 21.⁽¹⁵⁾ Polly Murphy, who was reported missing from her master's home in 1775, was "very near five years of age".⁽¹⁶⁾

In a few cases whole families indentured as servants and here it is opportune to introduce the term "redemptioner". This seems to have made its appearance in the early eighteenth century.⁽¹⁷⁾ There was a significant difference between the redemptioner and the indentured servant - although the two terms were often used synonymously. The redemptioner, or "free-willer", as he was sometimes called, was an emigrant who made his own arrangement with a merchant and was transported usually free of charge without an indenture.⁽¹⁸⁾ It is thought that many redemptioners were heads of families.⁽¹⁹⁾ On arrival in the colonies, a redemptioner was allowed a certain period of time - 31 days customarily - to find someone who was willing to "redeem" him by paying the cost of his passage.⁽²⁰⁾ Some redemptioners probably

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14. Smith, op.cit., p.22.
 15. Proceedings and Acts, Maryland, 1684-92, pp.451-3; Geiser, op.cit., p.73.
 16. Documents relating to the colonial history of New Jersey, 1st series, Vol.XXI, Extracts from newspapers for 1775, p.207.
 17. Smith, Colonists in bondage, p.20. The first redemptioners went from Switzerland and Germany.
 18. Geiser, "Redemptioners and Indentured Servants", pp.5-7.
 19. Smith, op.cit., p.22.
 20. C. M. Hough, ed., Reports of Cases in the Vice Admiralty of the Province of New York ... 1715-88, New Haven, 1925, pp.210-13.

contacted friends or relatives, but most of them were really seeking someone with whom they could strike a bargain on more or less equal terms. If a redemptioner failed in his quest, the merchant reserved the right to sell him as a bonded servant. If, by any chance, he had paid part of the passage money, this only had the effect of shortening the duration of his servitude.⁽²¹⁾ The redemption arrangement, being unofficial, was, of course, likely to be abused by either side. Many stories were told of hapless redemptioners who were at the mercy of ship masters during the voyage or who desperately sought for someone to come forward with £5 or more so that they might escape indentured service - for that was evidently the point of the redemption schemes.⁽²²⁾ No doubt, ship masters too were cheated of their money by perfidious redemptioners.

The indentured service system itself was often abused by either of the contracting parties. Yet it had always formed an integral part of colonial society and was regulated in every colony.⁽²³⁾ A revolt of servants in Virginia in 1663 probably did much to bring about improved conditions for them in the years to come.⁽²⁴⁾ Nevertheless, it could not be described as a popular institution. For

21. Geiser, op.cit., pp.5-7.

22. Smith, op.cit., pp.223-4; Letter from William Eddis to a friend in England, Annapolis, 20 Sept. 1770, A. C. Land, ed., Letters from America written by William Eddis, Mass., 1969, pp. 38-40.

23. Smith, op.cit., pp.17-19, 226-30.

24. G. Bancroft, The History of the U.S.A. from the Discovery of the Continent, abridged and edited by R. B. Nye, Chicago, 1966, pp.57-8; convicts were blamed for this rising.

many servants it represented a period of hardship or irksome restraint.⁽²⁵⁾ It does emerge as perhaps the best possible way of enabling poor and unemployed people to emigrate; and of supplying the colonies with labour and future citizens, as well as peopling the frontier regions. In the colonial period, and to a great extent in the eighteenth century, it certainly brought to the shores of North America a labour force drawn from the British Isles and Europe;⁽²⁶⁾ and it was the means by which the most destitute of Irishmen were able to emigrate to the colonies.

So long as these colonies continued to expand in population and area the demand for white servants grew steadily. During the eighteenth century a continuous supply of labourers, skilled and unskilled, was needed for the large farms and estates of New York and Pennsylvania, and for the tobacco, rice and sugar plantations of the more southerly colonies.⁽²⁷⁾ Skilled artisans and domestic servants were required everywhere - and Irish servants were accepted even in New England.⁽²⁸⁾ All kinds of work had to be done in the colonies, from felling trees on newly-claimed land to providing valet service in one of the already aristocratic families of Virginia's planter society. Teachers were also in demand, for these were scarce; and even people of limited education found that their

25. Geiser, op.cit., pp.77-85; Land, Letters, pp.40-1.

26. Geiser, op.cit., p.27.

27. H. L. Osgood, The American colonies in the eighteenth century, New York, 1924, II, 485-6; Williams, Caribbean, pp.109-10.

28. Donovan, Irish in Massachusetts, p.37; J. D. Butler, "British Convicts shipped to the American Colonies", A.H.R., II, 21.

tutoring was highly regarded. ⁽²⁹⁾ Many colonial pedagogues had emigrated as indented servants and, once emancipated, they could easily make a reputation for themselves in pioneer communities where educational standards had still to be created. ⁽³⁰⁾

Nearly every advertisement for a ship taking passengers to the colonies offered accommodation for servants. Some of the advertisements were more specific. These indicate not only the type of worker who was most in demand, but also the standing of those who indented. Tradesmen or craftsmen come high on the list and included smiths, weavers, butchers, tanners, etc. Husbandmen and labourers were also particularly requested. In 1768, by which time the colonies had reached a high level of development, the owner of the "Nancy", bound from Dublin to Baltimore, offered special encouragement to:

"all kind of Tradesmen and Husbandmen, Carpenters, Taylors, Shoemakers, Wheelrights, Millrights, Smiths, Weavers, Bricklayers, Plaisterers, Millers, Coopers, Barbers, Bakers, Milleners, Cabinetmakers, Hatters, Turners, Tanners." ⁽³¹⁾

The colonial and revolutionary muster rolls reveal these very occupations among the men of Irish birth. ⁽³²⁾

A few lists of servants who indented were published in Dublin newspapers in the mid-eighteenth century and these too are interesting

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29. R. J. Purcell, "Irish cultural contribution in early New York", Catholic Educational Review, October 1937, pp.449-50.
 30. Some teachers emigrated as redemptioners, Geiser, op.cit., p.108; Chapter X, this work.
 31. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, July 1768.
 32. Collections of New York Historical Society for 1891, Vol.XXIV, Muster Rolls 1755-64, pp.60-121, 132-155; Pennsylvania Archives, series 2, II, pp.422-5, 489-91, 504-5; 5th series, I, 142-7, 150-277; V, 781-5.

to analyse.⁽³³⁾ Two separate lists were published of servants who had indented with Captain Bedlington for the voyage of the "Britannia" to Virginia in 1749. They include the names of three women and sixteen men whose ages ranged from 16 to 40 years, but only two of whom were over 30. In the case of the women the customary occupation of "spinster" has had to suffice. The men's occupations included tailor, linen weaver, glass grinder, labourer, gentleman's servant, yeoman. Another list of four women and eight men included such occupations as bookbinder, gardener and hosier.

When a ship bearing indented servants arrived at a colonial port, they stayed on board until they could be transferred to their future masters.⁽³⁴⁾ The captain first let it be known, usually by advertising in the local newspapers, that he had servants to dispose of. These advertisements were sometimes terse like:

"Just imported in the Snow "Boyle", Greatrack, from Youghal, a parcel of men and women servants"; ⁽³⁵⁾

others were more expansive like:

"Just arrived from Cork in Brig "Ann and Margaret", Atkins, A Parcel of hearty likely servants, Men, Women, Boys, Girls from 13 to 20 suitable for Gentlemen, Farmers, Traders; among them are Weavers, Shoemakers, Taylors, Coopers, Smiths, Barbers, etc., etc." ⁽³⁶⁾

33. Appendix A.

34. Nettels, Civilisation, pp. 390-1.

35. Pennsylvania Gazette, 3 July 1755.

36. Massachusetts Gazette, 15 Oct. 1767.

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Prospective employers then turned up to inspect the servants and bargain with the captain over the purchase price. This depended on several considerations, principally the age and fitness of servants, their skills, as well as the law of supply and demand. Cash payments appear to have been more common in the eighteenth century, but one captain in 1736 stated that he had been in the habit of receiving 35 barrels of pitch or turpentine, worth $\frac{3}{6}$ or $\frac{4}{-}$ per barrel, for each of the Irish servants he landed.⁽³⁷⁾ In 1767 it was reported in a Dublin newspaper that a number of servants from Waterford had been sold in Philadelphia for £30 to £35 each.⁽³⁸⁾ For some reason these were exceptionally high payments for the usual rates ranged from £10 to £20.⁽³⁹⁾

The selling of indented servants in colonial ports must have been almost an everyday occurrence, but people who had never seen it before were horrified that human beings could thus be bartered. One army officer, having witnessed the procedure at Philadelphia, wrote to his father in Dublin:

"They (the Irish) sell their servants here as they do their Horses, and advertise them as they do their Oatmeal and Beef".⁽⁴⁰⁾

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37. Stock, Proceedings and Debates, IV, 848-57; this captain was the notorious Gunning.
38. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 17-21 Mar. 1767.
39. Nettels, Civilisation, pp.319-24; William O'Brian's price was £23.9.0. for four years, New Jersey Newspaper Extracts, XI, 67.
40. Letter from an officer in the 64th Regiment, dated Boston, 5 Aug. 1773, Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 28-30 Sept. 1773.

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It is not possible to describe conditions during indentured service in much more than general terms. These inevitably varied very considerably from one homestead to another and few servants, particularly from Ireland, appear to have written about their experiences. It is known that some were overworked and ill-treated and that some lived like members of their master's family.⁽⁴¹⁾ Conditions for servants were probably at their worst in the West Indies in the early seventeenth century but improved under regulations after 1660.⁽⁴²⁾ In Virginia the indentured servants' revolt in 1663, although blamed on convicts, can be attributed to harsh conditions. In Maryland, "the best poor man's country in the world", servants were well treated and in Pennsylvania and other colonies bonded service was carefully regulated to protect the rights of both masters and servants.⁽⁴³⁾ The latter were to be adequately lodged, clothed and fed and, although they could be corporally punished in the manner of the age - 20 to 39 lashes on the bare back was a common punishment for major misdemeanours - "barbarous or inhumane" punishments were forbidden; servants who were badly treated could be released from bondage by order of the courts.⁽⁴⁴⁾ In Pennsylvania,

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41. Dict. Am. Hist., III, 85; J. Annesley, Memoirs, Dublin, 1743.
 42. Williams, Caribbean, pp. 96-9; Cal. S.P. (A. & W.I.) 1685-8, p. 291; 1693-6, p. 446; R. Ligon, History of Barbadoes, pp. 43-5; Smith, Colonists in Bondage, pp. 227-8; Rees. Va. Co., II, 442-4.
 43. Barck & Lefler, Colonial America, pp. 67-8; Geiser, op.cit., pp. 86-92.
 44. Geiser, op.cit., pp. 71, 86-90; Cal. S.P. (A. & W.I.) 1689-92, p. 161; 1697-8, p. 444; 1699, p. 261; Fleet, Abstracts, passim.

which received many Irish servants, part of the business at monthly Quaker meetings dealt with the alleged grievances of indented servants.⁽⁴⁵⁾

Regulations apart, however, much depended on individual human nature. There were good and bad masters and good and bad servants and there could often be cause for complaint on either side. Not surprisingly, closer relationships sometimes developed between masters and servants which are more pleasing to record. In the prevailing shortage of women many a colonial employer found a wife among the servants he bought.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Wills and bequests sometimes reveal instances of esteem and affection for servants; remission of part of their time probably was the most welcome. Dermot O'Doyle stood to inherit his master's best suit and hat.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Mary Hayes may not have been Irish, but her legacy^{in 1649} consisted of full remission of her time, 60 acres of land, 500 lb. of tobacco, enough corn to keep her a year and four head of cattle.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The great majority of servants, however, probably received few favours and completed their contracts with no more than ordinary tedium and hardship.

Servants could take their grievances to colonial authorities, but numbers of them evidently found it simpler to run away.⁽⁴⁹⁾

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45. J. Fiske, The Dutch and Quaker colonies in America, London, 1899, II, 325; Myers, Immigration, p.228.
 46. Williams, Caribbean, p.99; a well-known example is that of Benjamin Franklin's maternal grandmother who married her master.
 47. Gwynn, Documents, Analecta Hibernica, IV, 233.
 48. Fleet, Abstracts, Vol.26, Will of Robert Follgate, p.54.
 49. Geiser, op.cit., pp.77-85.

Colonial newspapers contain many notices about runaway servants. (50)

A majority of these were Irish, a fact which may partly be explained by the extent of immigration from Ireland. In the notices a servant is named, his nationality nearly always stated; he is fully described, down to the last detail of clothing, and a reward for his return is often offered.

A remarkable proportion of runaway Irish servants appear to have been tailors by trade. This raises the question as to whether a man was employed during servitude according to his skill or qualifications. It is doubtful whether most servants were able to follow their own trades, (51) although their chances of doing so were greater in the eighteenth century than in the seventeenth as the colonies became more populous and highly developed. It must have been irksome for a tailor, for example, if he had to spend his servitude working in the fields; (52) this sort of situation would induce many a servant to escape. When a runaway servant was returned to his master his servitude was usually extended in proportion to the length of time he had been absent (53) - which was perhaps the worst punishment he could have received.

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50. A large collection of these is printed in Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey, ed. Wm. Nelson and A. Van Doren Honeyman, 1st series, Extracts from Newspapers, Vols. I to X; Appendix A.
51. Smith, Colonists in bondage, p.258.
52. Ibid.
53. Geiser, op.cit., pp.86-90.

On the whole, however, the period of bonded servitude could not have been as harsh as some historians have suggested. Servants from Ireland had been going to the colonies since the early seventeenth century and in increasing numbers. As the eighteenth century progressed, there must have been many people in Ireland who had learnt about the realities of bonded servitude from those who had emigrated. The fact that skilled artisans and craftsmen were prepared to indent surely indicates that they did not consider the arrangement too degrading.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Indentured service was certainly not suitable for family groups, for these might be divided among different masters. For this reason, probably, rather than absolute distaste for indentured service, some emigrants chose to travel as redemptioners. The system was best suited to the young and single; it was these who were constantly in greatest demand and for whom good prices were paid.

The servant trade was always a lucrative one for shippers. It is not surprising, therefore, that the unscrupulous among them should have resorted to the practice that was first called "Kidnapping" or "spiriting away".⁽⁵⁵⁾ This had gone on since those days when ship masters first received payment for servants. Efforts to check the evil were seldom completely effective.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The kidnapping of mostly

54. Dict.Am.Hist., III, 85.

55. Smith, op.cit., pp.68-70; Geiser, op.cit., pp.19-21; in 1674 it was estimated that 10,000 persons were annually spirited away from England; Dict.Am.Hist., III, 85.

56. A parliamentary ordinance of 1645 failed; Smith, op.cit., pp.71-4; Order of the Privy Council in 1686 was also ineffective; Doyle, English in America, pp.512-14.

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young people and children from Ireland to the colonies, where they were sold as servants, became at times something of a scandal.

The practice appears to have been particularly rife in the mid-eighteenth century. In April 1751, for example, three persons were committed to prison for forcing a youth of 17 and a girl of 19 on board a ship in Dublin harbour. Further search on the same vessel revealed several children "pack'd into barrels" in order to be carried away to the colonies.⁽⁵⁷⁾ At the same time it was reported that a gang of villains, dressed as sailors, was busy going among the people whom, by means of lies and even physical force, they induced to leave their work and board ships for the colonies.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Young persons and apprentices were especially easy victims, for they could usually be persuaded to run away from unloved guardians or masters.

A number of attempts were made at this time to foil the activities of kidnappers. Law-abiding ship masters emphasised in their advertisements that they would refuse passage to any servant who had not been officially indented - kidnappers were known to have forged indenture forms.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Those lists of indented servants that appeared in Dublin newspapers between 1748 and 1751 were primarily to enable missing persons to be traced. Then, in 1752, a bill was

57. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 16-20 Apr. 1751.

58. Ibid.; and 27-30 Apr. 1751.

59. Dublin Courant, 7-11 May, 1751; Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 7-11 Mar. 1748/9; ibid., 8-11 Sept. 1750.

introduced in the Irish House of Commons to prevent "the pernicious practice of kidnapping children and seducing people on board ships", after which kidnapping declined for a time.⁽⁶⁰⁾

In 1768, however, "the old villainous practice" had revived in Dublin.⁽⁶¹⁾ One man, who was caught on Rogerson's Quay with two stolen children, was taken to Newgate prison "attended by vast numbers of irritated people, who pelted him severely with stones and dirt".⁽⁶²⁾ In 1769, rather belatedly, a bill was proposed to make Kidnapping a felony.⁽⁶³⁾ It would have been perfect justice if even only one convicted Kidnapper had been transported to the colonies and sold into penal servitude.

The indentured service system also provided an escape route for debtors, especially, and for others who were running away from various obligations, as well as for escaped criminals and deserters from the armed forces.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Such fugitives often indented under false names. It was not always possible to check the identity of every servant who presented himself at the ports so a culprit was frequently on the high seas before action could be taken.⁽⁶⁵⁾ In the colonies adventurers such as these were likely to be unsatisfactory servants,

60. Stock, Proceedings and Debates, V, 613.

61. Dublin Mercury, 11-13 Aug. 1768.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid., 23-26 Sept. 1769.

64. Memorandum to the Lords Justices, Transcript of State Papers relating to Ireland, Jun. 1727 - Dec. 1729, P.R.O.N.I.; Irish Commons Journal, 1715-30, entry dated 22 Nov. 1729.

65. Issues of the Dublin Gazette, 1731.

thus giving their nation a bad name. The colonial newspaper notices about runaway servants reveal that some of them had had unusual careers or had changed their names at least once. Ship masters in their advertisements generally asked for "honest" people to indent, but they must sometimes have had a few frauds on board, even if these represented only a small percentage of the many hundreds who indented.

It is not possible to estimate even roughly how many people emigrated as servants from Ireland during the colonial period. Their numbers on board any one ship, where specifically stated, varied from as low as 20, or less, to over 200. Since the second decade of the eighteenth century they travelled on most of the merchant-passenger vessels and some of these appear to have sailed with servants only. They were, of course, allotted less space than paying passengers. In fact, since the early seventeenth century, any merchant vessel that sailed from any Irish port to the colonies might have ^{had} a few servants on board.

Nor is it possible to indicate what proportion of the servants was Protestant or Catholic in the eighteenth century - and these at times must have travelled on the same vessel. As indicated earlier in this work, the health and fitness of servants mattered more than their religion. Very few advertisements state a preference for any particular religion in the case of servants. On the other side of the Atlantic too there are very few references to the religion of individual servants, although their nationality was nearly always mentioned.

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While colonial society in general was glad to accept useful servants, irrespective of their religion, the attitude of many colonial governments was different and helps to reveal how numerous Irish servants were. Since before 1689 Irish Catholic servants were viewed with suspicion as being of doubtful loyalty and likely to aid the French.⁽⁶⁶⁾ In some colonies attempts were made to limit the immigration of Irish servants by levying duties on them. The Provincial Assembly of Maryland, for example, passed legislation for this purpose in 1699.⁽⁶⁷⁾ That the duties had to be renewed in 1708, 1715 and 1717 indicates that Irish servants were still entering the colony in considerable numbers.⁽⁶⁸⁾ By this time Protestant servants from Ireland were arriving in the colonies and after 1732 they were exempted from the duties in Maryland.⁽⁶⁹⁾ Certain other colonies, even Pennsylvania, imposed duties on Irish servants; these were evaded by ship captains when they landed servants in Delaware or New Jersey.⁽⁷⁰⁾

In the West Indies, too, attempts were made to reduce the immigration of Catholic servants from Ireland. In 1703, for example, Jamaica offered £18 in war time and £14 in peace time for each

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- 66. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1574-1660, p.483; 1689-92, p.147; 1738, p.223.
 - 67. A duty of 20s. was levied on every Irish servant by an Act of 1699, Proceedings and Acts 1697/8-1699, p.497.
 - 68. Proceedings and Acts, Maryland, 1715-16, p.328; Cal.S.P.(A.&W.I.) 1732, No.87.
 - 69. D. Mac C. Owings, His Lordship's Patronage, Baltimore, 1953, p.62.
 - 70. The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, IV, 164-171.

immigrant white servant, but only £15 and £12 respectively for Irish servants. (71) In 1731 a Protestant Bill was introduced in Jamaica which, it was hoped, would deter:

"the native Irish Papists of which our servants and lower rank of people chiefly consists of pouring in upon us in such shoals, as they have done of late years." (72)

Here is also an indication of the extent of Ireland's trade with Jamaica, for it is thought that most of the Catholic servants came with trade.

The numerous notices concerning runaway servants that appeared in colonial newspapers until 1775 indicate that a large proportion of the fugitives was native Irish. Only rarely is religion mentioned, but the term 'native Irish' does occur frequently, as do references to speech. The Irish language was still the mother tongue of most of the natives of Ireland and, in the colonies, this was also defined as "the brogue" or "Hibernian dialect". Irish servants were also identified by their lack of fluency when speaking English. The native or Catholic Irish servants were, therefore, usually distinct from others who had come from Ireland. Whether they also had a greater tendency to run away is another query; it is recorded that they were not always the best of servants. (73) The proportion of

71. Smith, Colonists in bondage, p.33.

72. Governor Hunter to the Duke of Newcastle, Jamaica, 13 Nov. 1731, Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1731.

73. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1675-6, p.304 (Grievances of the inhabitants of Barbadoes).

Catholic Irish servants among those who ran away may not, in fact, be an accurate guide to the volume of Catholic emigration from Ireland, but it does indicate that this was far from negligible.

Servants from Ireland, whether Protestants or Catholics, literally poured into the colonies during the early 1770's and in the very year that the Revolutionary War broke out. In the spring of 1775, for example, four ships sailed from Cork for Pennsylvania and Maryland. One of them carried "260 young persons of both sexes" and the other three were thought to be carrying as many more. Several of the boys on board were shoemakers, tailors, coopers, masons and farmers - exactly what the colonies needed. (74) Not all of them, perhaps, achieved fame and fortune, but they helped to build America. A couple of outstandingly successful Irish servants could be mentioned here: Daniel Dulany, a relative of the celebrated Doctor Delany, who, after attending Trinity College, Dublin, emigrated as an indentured servant to Maryland in 1703; (75) and William Killen, who came from Co. Clare and served his time as a tutor. (76) The former became Attorney-General of Maryland and the latter Chief Justice of Delaware. (77) These two had had the advantage of education and so their achievements were impressive. Inestimable were the total achievements of all those other indentured servants who sailed away from Ireland and became Americans.

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74. Journal of the Historical and Archaeological Society of Cork, 2nd series, Vol. XXI, 1915, p.29.
 75. R. H. Spencer, "Hon. Daniel Dulany the Elder, 1685-1753", Maryland Historical Magazine, XIII, 20-1; Diet. Am. Biog.
 76. R. J. Purcell, "Irish settlers in early Delaware", Pennsylvania History, XIV, 98.
 77. Spencer, op.cit.; Purcell, op.cit.

CHAPTER VI

THE TRANSPORTATION OF CONVICTS FROM IRELAND TO NORTH AMERICA BETWEEN 1703 AND 1775

From the time when an overseas empire was first envisaged theorists had argued that it should embody a penal settlement for the vagrant unemployed, petty offenders and rebels, not only from England but from Ireland.⁽¹⁾ The first known transportation of civil offenders from England took place to Virginia about 1615.⁽²⁾ It was not until the time of Cromwell, however, that the system was actually extended to Ireland and then only temporarily.⁽³⁾ For the rest of the seventeenth century, except possibly for a few tories,⁽⁴⁾ transportation did not officially proceed from Ireland. It had, of course, often been considered and, at the end of the seventeenth century, the arguments in favour of it became more pressing.⁽⁵⁾ By that time the governments of both Virginia and Maryland had been exercising what powers they had to prohibit the importation of felons from England.⁽⁶⁾ Their resistance was in vain for the imperial government persisted with the practice and the government of Ireland began to adopt similar measures.

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1. Gilbert, Hakluyt, Peckham, Dale, etc.; L. B. Wright and E. W. Fowler, English colonisation of North America (Documents), London, 1968, pp.20-6.
 2. A. G. L. Shaw, Convicts and the Colonies, London, 1966, pp.23-4.
 3. J. W. Blake, "Transportation from Ireland to America, 1653-60", Irish Historical Studies, March 1943.
 4. Cal.S.P.(Ire.) 1669-70, pp.271, 287, 304.
 5. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1696-7, 1697-8, passim.
 6. Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial), I, 553; J. Bigelow, ed., The Complete works of Benjamin Franklin, IV, 254-5.

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In 1703 the Irish Parliament passed an act which authorised that persons convicted of such offences as stealing less than two cows, or less than ten sheep, felony of not less than twenty shillings, or harbouring robbers, tories and rapparees might be reprieved of the death penalty and sentenced instead to transportation to the colonies. The county sheriffs had the duty of delivering such prisoners to any merchant who was willing to ship them overseas. The merchant was to be solvent and give a bond of £20 as guarantee of his good faith. Within eighteen months he was to produce a certificate of landing the convicts from the authorities of the place, otherwise the bond would be held in suit against him. (7)

It was a harsh penal system which could sentence people to death or transportation three thousand miles from home for such offences as stealing a cow or twenty shillings. Yet it was typical of that age and modelled on the one that prevailed in England until the nineteenth century.

Like the English convicts those from Ireland were transported for seven or fourteen years, a few for life. (8) In practice they indented for those periods of time - in Dublin the Lord Mayor went to Newgate prison to officiate (9) - and on arrival in the colonies they were sold as servants. The transportation of convicts, therefore,

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7. 2 Anne 12 (Irish Statutes, Vol. IV, Dublin, 1765, pp. 45-8).
 8. Cal. Home Office Papers, 4 vols., 1760-75, H.M.S.O., London, 1878-99, contain lists of convicts who were sentenced to transportation in England and Scotland.
 9. Dublin Mercury, 20-23 Sept. 1766.

was related to the traffic in indentured servants, the prime purpose of both being to provide the colonies with labour. Transportation was regarded as the "wisest, most humane and effectual" form of punishment at that time.⁽¹⁰⁾ For many convicts the only alternative was execution and few opted for that.

Four years later the Irish government at last introduced transportation to solve an old problem. The act of 1707, declaring that the existing laws against vagrants and tories were ineffectual, ordered that "all loose, idle vagrants and such as pretend to be Irish gentlemen" (tories, robbers and rapparees), should be kept in gaol until sent on board the fleet or to the American plantations. This act was to be in force for seven years.⁽¹¹⁾ Worried perhaps about the consequences of tories and rapparees being unloaded in the colonies, the Irish Parliament, in 1709, decreed a payment of £5 to merchants, or masters of ships, for the transportation of every convicted Catholic to the West Indies not subject to the Crown.⁽¹²⁾

These acts were not altogether effective. Carrying people all the way to the colonies against their will was, no doubt, an unenviable task. When voluntary emigration from Ireland began to provide a profitable business for shippers in the second decade of

10. Sir John Fielding to the Earl of Suffolk, Cal.H.O.Papers, 1773-5, p.11.

11. 6 Anne c.11 (Irish Statutes).

12. Stock, Proceedings and Debates, III, 523; this act may have been intended to prevent too many priests reaching the English colonies.

the century they were likely to be less interested in transporting convicts, especially when the colonies themselves were adding to their difficulties. In 1700, for example, Massachusetts had enacted that every ship master who arrived with passengers must hand to the custom house officer a written certificate of "the name, character and circumstances" of each passenger under penalty of £5 for every name that was omitted.⁽¹³⁾ Whatever the cause, the gaols in Ireland were filling up with prisoners awaiting transportation;⁽¹⁴⁾ more effective measures had to be introduced.

Two minor acts in the series were passed in 1719 and 1721; the latter enforced the death penalty on those who had been transported and had escaped or returned before their time had expired.⁽¹⁵⁾ In 1726 a major amendment was passed by the Irish Parliament "for the more effectual transporting of felons and vagabonds",⁽¹⁶⁾ It directed that a contract should be made by the chief magistrate of a city or port with any merchant who was willing to transport convicts at the rate of 40 shillings for each capital felon and 20 shillings for each of the others. The magistrate was to notify the county sheriffs whose duty was to deliver the convicts to the merchant together with the appropriate money. This money was to be presented in the assises or quarter sessions where the prisoners had been

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13. J. Fiske, Old Virginia and her neighbours, Boston and New York, 1900, pp.166-8.
 14. Preamble to 12 Geo. I. c.8 (Irish Statutes).
 15. 6 Geo. I. c.12. and 8 Geo. I. c.9 (Irish Statutes).
 16. 12 Geo. I. c.8 (Irish Statutes, vol.V).

convicted and levied in the same way as other sums ordered by the courts. The act also decreed that lists of those sentenced to transportation should be made by the Clerks of the Crown and of the Peace, and further recommended that there should be no delay on the part of any authority in carrying out the law. At the same time, smuggling and bigamy were added to the list of offences for which the penalty was transportation overseas.⁽¹⁷⁾

The act of 1726 had to be quickly followed by another one, for the merchants declared that the payment was inadequate and declined to take convicts.⁽¹⁸⁾ The Act of 1730⁽¹⁹⁾ added forgery and perjury to the list of felonies deserving transportation and allotted £6 per head for each felon transported. £1 of this sum was to be retained as a fee by the sheriff to cover his expenses in transmitting the felons to a port. The merchant, therefore, now received £5 for each convict he transported.

At a time when the voluntary emigration of passengers and servants from Ireland to North America had become considerable, this latest act ensured that merchants would not ignore the transportation of convicts. In addition to the £5 they received for every felon they removed from Ireland, there was a sum of money or quantity of goods to be gained by the sale of convicts in the colonial ports.

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17. 12 Geo. I.c.3 (Irish Statutes); the former penalty for bigamy was being burned on the hand.
 18. Preamble to 3 Geo.II.4.
 19. 3 Geo.II.c.4 (Irish Statutes).

Seven years was the minimum length of service for convicts, while capital felons, as a rule, were transported for fourteen years. For this reason alone, they often fetched good prices, sometimes more than did voluntary servants; those who were young and able were eagerly bought for anything up to £20 per head.⁽²⁰⁾ The planters, in fact, were usually more appreciative of convict labour than were the colonial governments. Unlike indented servants, who were often penniless or nearly so, a few convicts might be affluent enough to bribe merchants for special treatment or other concessions on board ship and so provided another perquisite for American-bound mariners.⁽²¹⁾ Therefore, in spite of duties and other deterrents which some colonial governments imposed on the importation of convicts, the contracting merchants, after 1730, must have been satisfied with their profits, provided that they avoided Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania had become the distributing centre for the white servant traffic and some Irish convicts were at first landed there. Before long the criminals among them were disturbing this well-ordered colony and in 1722 duties were levied on imported convicts by the Provincial Assembly.⁽²²⁾ In 1729 the Assembly found it necessary to pass another Act "to discourage the great importation and coming in of foreigners and of lewd, idle and ill-affected persons". A

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20. Archives of Maryland, Correspondence of Governor Sharpe, I, pp.294-5. (Sharpe to Calvert).
 21. Smith, Colonists in bondage, p.125; D. Defoe, Moll Flanders, London, 1896, pp.252-60.
 22. Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, III, 264-8.

duty of 20 shillings was then levied on all Irish servants and redemptioners and a forfeit of £20 was demanded for each alien or Irish convict.⁽²³⁾ Later in the same year this Act was replaced by one which ordered merchants to pay £55 in respect of each convict landed; £50 of this was returnable on the good behaviour of a convict for the first year after arrival.⁽²⁴⁾ Women were exempt from these duties.⁽²⁵⁾

Since 1722 merchants, when bound for Philadelphia, had been evading the duties by landing convicts at ports in New Jersey and Delaware along the Delaware estuary. Convicts could then make their own way into Pennsylvania. After 1729 the merchants found responsible for the original importation of these convicts were liable to pay an additional fine of £20 for each one. If the merchants could not be traced the convicts themselves were obliged to pay the £5 duty and £50 as surety.⁽²⁶⁾

These heavy duties and other obligations certainly discouraged merchants from landing convicts in Pennsylvania and thus frustrated the intentions of the governments of Great Britain and Ireland concerning the transportation of felons. For this reason they were bound to be vetoed by the Crown. The legislation of 1729, however, like that of 1722, was never laid before the King for consent.

23. Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, IV, 164-71.

24. Ibid., pp.168 and foll.

25. Dublin Intelligence, 3 June 1729.

26. Statutes at Large, Penn., pp.168 and foll.; Dublin Gazette, 18-21 Oct. 1729.

This was probably intentional, for, according to the colonial charter, proprietary legislation automatically became law within six months if no Royal veto or consent had been offered.⁽²⁷⁾ In 1743, however, the legislation of 1722 and 1729 was embodied in a new Act by the Pennsylvania Assembly. It was then brought to the notice of the Privy Council by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations who advised disapprobation. Consequently, by an Order in Council of 1746, the Act of 1743 was disallowed and therefore repealed and so ended Pennsylvania's official resistance to the transportation of convicts.⁽²⁸⁾

In the meantime, in 1735, the Irish Parliament had proceeded with its policy of providing convict labour for the colonies.⁽²⁹⁾ A new Act ordered that "all loose, idle vagrants" and "all loose persons of infamous lives and characters" were to be committed by the courts of the county and city of Dublin for transportation to the colonies for seven years. Many of the people who were going to be apprehended under the terms of this Act would have committed no crime. The term "vagrant" is, moreover, one that can be used with some elasticity; from now on the wandering destitute and unemployed were to find themselves thrust among capital felons and petty thieves to be transported to the distant colonies.

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27. Letter to the Privy Council, Statutes at Large, Penn., IV, 467.
 28. Report to the Lords of Committee of the Council upon several Acts of Pennsylvania, 1742-3, Statutes at Large, Penn., IV, 509-13, and Appendix 15, p.503.
 29. 9 Geo. II.c.6. (Irish Statutes).

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 29. 9 Geo. II.c.6. (Irish Statutes).

This latest Act was undoubtedly an attempt to deal with the serious vagrancy problem of that time. Arthur Dobbs had commented on the numbers of beggars in the Irish cities, particularly Dublin and Cork.⁽³⁰⁾ In 1729, Joshua Gee, the eminent Quaker mercantilist, had suggested that criminals and the unemployed should be transported to the frontiers of the southern colonies, "by which means those vast tracts of land now waste will be planted, and secured from the danger we apprehend of the French over-running them".⁽³¹⁾ The government of Ireland certainly received plenty of advice and encouragement in the matter of transportation.

The merchants who carried the convicts overseas were chiefly interested in the profits to be made. That transporting convicts was becoming acceptable and lucrative to them was clearly indicated when rival groups of merchants petitioned the Irish Parliament in 1739 for the contract to transport felons. One group offered to carry convicts at the rate of £3 per head. As a result, this became the new official rate, thus reducing by nearly one half that formerly allowed.⁽³²⁾ During the war years that followed the transportation of convicts provided them with steady business at a time when voluntary emigration had slackened.⁽³³⁾

Nevertheless, the government of Ireland was still not satisfied that the transportation of convicts was being carried out

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- 30. Dobbs, Trade of Ireland, II, 45-9.
 - 31. Nettels, American civilisation, pp.401-3.
 - 32. Stock, Proceedings and Debates, V, 591-607.
 - 33. Appendix C.

effectively. In 1743, therefore, a parliamentary committee was appointed to investigate the transportation of convicts from Ireland during the previous seven years, that is, since the passing of the Act of 1735.⁽³⁴⁾ Evidence was presented by a number of merchants and local officials.

The Committee found that insufficient records had been kept, especially in the way of duplicate entries; sheriffs had not paid merchants the correct amounts of money; in some cases only half the appropriate money had been handed over. Merchants themselves had not carried out their contracts, but had landed convicts in some other parts of the British Isles or in Europe. So determined was the government that the transportation of convicts should be correctly completed that an Act of 1744, resulting from the inquiry, fixed the death penalty on merchants who broke their contracts.⁽³⁵⁾ During the inquiry a great deal of information concerning the transportation of convicts from Ireland between 1735 and 1743 was presented. Some significant features of it will be outlined here.

During those seven years nearly 2,000 people were sentenced to penal servitude in North America, 1,920 names being produced by the Clerks of the Peace.⁽³⁶⁾ Of this total 937, or nearly half, were from Leinster, 542 from Munster, 296 from Ulster and 145 from Connaught. They represented people of both sexes who had been

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34. Irish Commons Journal, IV, Appendix, pp.CCIV and CCV; Stock, Proceedings and Debates, V, pp.594-608.
35. 17 Geo.II.c.4.
36. Irish Commons Journal, IV, Appendix, pp.CCIV-CCXXXIX.

convicted of grand and petty larceny, sheep and cow stealing, perjury, forgery and, most of all, vagrancy. The lists for the counties and towns of Leinster, excepting Dublin city and county, contain the names of 243 transported for vagabondage, 143 for grand larceny, 14 for petty larceny, one each for forgery and perjury and 9 for capital offences. The figures indicate that the largest proportion of Irish convicts was transported for vagrancy and minor offences. It is evident, however, that some of the convicts were criminals. (37)

The figures also suggest that transportation was heaviest from those provinces where Roman Catholics were in a majority. The numbers of convicts sent from both Leinster and Munster were far greater than the number from Ulster. Ulster appears to have had a more law-abiding population; no one was ordered for transportation during those seven years from the county of the town of Carrickfergus. (38) Protestant juries throughout the land may have been more ready to convict Catholics, (39) while the government could have had no wish to drive more Protestants out of the country than were already emigrating. The main purpose of the transportation schemes, as in England, was to supply the colonies with useful labour. It was probably not the government's intention to reduce the native population of Ireland by transportation, but in the prevailing circumstances a disproportion of the convicted were Roman Catholics. It must also

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37. Stock, Proceedings and Debates, V, 594-607.
 38. Ibid., p.600, n.28.
 39. Curtis, Ireland, p.297.

be noted that riots and disorders in Ireland were not made capital offences, as in England, but remained misdemeanours at common law⁽⁴⁰⁾ - otherwise there would have been more transportations.

Following the inquiry of 1743 and until 1775 the transportation of convicts from Ireland, no doubt, proceeded with greater efficiency than before. Judging by some of the advertisements, merchants were displaying more alacrity. Captain Lowes of the "Industry", bound from Limerick to Virginia in 1768, announced that he would "take in Passengers, Convicts and Indented Servants" - in that order.⁽⁴¹⁾

Since the 1730's, Dublin newspapers often reported details about the transportation of convicts in its early stages. Before leaving Newgate prison in Dublin, convicts were usually chained together in groups of six. Each group was then led into an open cart and carried through the streets to the quay where they were immediately put on board. In September 1766, for example, 17 women and 92 men, having indented before the Lord Mayor, were taken in 15 carts to Sir John Rogerson's Quay, where they boarded the "Hicks", commanded by Captain Smith and bound for Virginia.⁽⁴²⁾ George's

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40. Earl of Shelburne to Lord-Lt. of Ireland, 13 Sept. 1769, Cal. H.O. Papers 1766-9, p.328; the penalty in Ireland for rioting appears to have been whipping which was very occasionally commuted to transportation, Dublin Mercury, 15-18 Aug. 1767; T. Newenham, A Statistical and historical enquiry into the progress and magnitude of the population of Ireland, 1805, supports the depopulation theory.
41. Limerick Chronicle, 17 Oct. 1768; another enthusiastic advertisement in Haulkner's Dublin Journal, 1-4 Feb. 1745/6.
42. Dublin Mercury, 20-23 Sept. 1766.

Quay and Rogerson's Quay were the usual places of deportation from Dublin.⁽⁴³⁾ Convicts were also shipped from Limerick, Galway, Cork and Waterford during these years.⁽⁴⁴⁾ There is evidence that public sympathy was stirred by these transportation scenes. The adjective "unfortunate" occurs occasionally in newspaper reports of convicts⁽⁴⁵⁾ and several attempts to rescue prisoners before sailing have been described.⁽⁴⁶⁾

In the 1760's and early 1770's the number of convicts sent from Ireland increased considerably for several reasons. In the mid-1760's beggars were again becoming numerous and so there were more arrests for vagrancy.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The Industrial Revolution was gaining momentum in England and creating a demand for cheap labour. The emigration of skilled workers from England was now forbidden and fewer people were being sentenced to transportation in the English courts.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The efforts of authorities in Ireland to provide labour for the colonies were, therefore, intensified. More and more penalties were commuted to transportation.⁽⁴⁹⁾ In 1772 yet another bill was introduced in the Irish Parliament for "the more speedy and effectual transportation

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43. J. W. Hammond, "George's Quay and Rogerson's Quay in the eighteenth century", Dublin Historical Record, V, No.2, pp.48-9.
 44. Appendix C.
 45. Dublin Mercury, 9-13 June 1767.
 46. Ibid., 1-5 Apr.1766, 15-19 Apr. 1766, 17-21 June 1766, 25-28 July 1767, 30 July-2 Aug.1768; in this journal too are described some successful and unsuccessful attempts by convicts to escape.
 47. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 12-15 July 1766.
 48. Nettels, American civilisation, p.401.
 49. Shaw, Convicts, p.36.

of felons".⁽⁵⁰⁾ So, at the very time when the colonies were resisting imperial domination, the government of Ireland must have been adding fuel to the flames by sending over greater numbers of convicts.

Some Irish convicts were taken to the West Indies, but at least nine of the thirteen colonies which became the American republic received them.⁽⁵¹⁾ Most of them offered at least official resistance. That of Virginia, Maryland, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania has already been mentioned. It is thought that in the end Virginia and Maryland accepted many more convicts than did any of the other colonies.⁽⁵²⁾

In both these colonies the tobacco planters required large contingents of unskilled labour, especially at certain seasons. Convicts with their long sentences were often preferred to ordinary servants and, if bought in groups, they were sometimes cheaper to purchase.⁽⁵³⁾ No figures are available for the number of Irish convicts transported to Virginia, but it is noteworthy that the Attorney-General was granted a salary increase of £40 per annum, dating from 1732, because of the greater amount of work involved in dealing with burglaries and felonies committed by imported convicts.⁽⁵⁴⁾

50. Dublin Mercury, 20-22 Feb. 1772.

51. Nettels, American civilisation, pp.401-3.

52. According to Smith, Colonists in bondage, pp.117-19, these two colonies received two-thirds of the convicts that were transported from Great Britain in the eighteenth century.

53. A. B. Hart, ed., American History told by Contemporaries, II, 107; Stock, Proceedings and Debates, V, 605-7.

54. Cal.Treasury Books and Papers, 1731-4, entry No.81.

His task could not have grown less, for it was not until after 1735 that the transportation of convicts from Ireland reached its maximum.

In Maryland, too, although the government expressed its opposition to the importation of convicts, the planters usually preferred convict labour. In this matter they were supported by the Proprietor who had the power to veto any debarring legislation. In Maryland a planter's social standing was reckoned by the number and efficiency of his servants rather than his acres.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Transportation assured him of a steady supply of labour and the longer term of servitude helped to promote greater efficiency among his servants. The forced labour of convicts was also considered necessary to the economy of Maryland and here good prices, varying from £8 to £20, were paid for them.⁽⁵⁶⁾ A duty of £1 was levied on each convict imported, mainly for revenue purposes, and merchants objected to this. The Proprietor and Governor pointed out, however, that they had little cause for complaint because they were paid in Ireland for transporting the convicts and, in spite of their own costs and the duty, were still able to make a large profit by selling them.⁽⁵⁷⁾

The more southerly colonies also required much cheap labour for plantation work and convicts were accepted. Irish convicts appear to have been numerous in New Jersey⁽⁵⁸⁾ where many of them had been

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- 55. B. Sellers, "Transported Convict Laborers in Maryland during the Colonial Period", Maryland Historical Magazine, II, 17.
 - 56. Correspondence of Sharpe, I, 294-5.
 - 57. Ibid., pp. 300, 330.
 - 58. New Jersey Newspaper Extracts, Vols. I to XI.

landed during the period when Pennsylvania's duties were in force.

Once they had been landed and transferred to employers, convicts were classed as indentured servants.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Therefore, after 1703, an increasing number of Irish servants in the colonies were, in fact, transported convicts. This makes it difficult to determine whether Irish servants were, as a rule, troublesome or whether it was the convicts among them who gave them that reputation. Pennsylvania's duty system underlines the situation that existed there. The colonial newspapers carry many reports of Irishmen, thought to be convicts, committing offences or breaking out of gaol.⁽⁶⁰⁾

There is little doubt that convict labour could be most useful in pioneer country, and, in certain colonies, like Maryland, even advantageous to the employer. Social and political problems, however, are not necessarily solved by removing criminals and malcontents from one part of an empire to another. The governments of Great Britain and Ireland became perhaps too careless of the feelings of colonial governments. It was one thing to send out ship loads of the poor and unemployed to lands which needed labour, but another to include malefactors or incorrigible beggars. For this reason colonial leaders began to see the transportation of convicts as a clear instance of imperial domination, one that was easier to

59. W. Miller, "Effects of the American Revolution on indentured servitude", Pennsylvania History, VII, 132.

60. Extracts from American Newspapers relating to New Jersey, Vols. I to XI; American newspapers noted in bibliography, this work.

comprehend than the implications of the Stamp Act. Benjamin Franklin expressed the popular feeling strongly:

"their emptying their jails into our settlements is an insult and a contempt, the cruellest that over one people offered to another." (61)

It has been reckoned that at least 10,000 people were transported from Ireland to the colonies between 1703 and 1775.⁽⁶²⁾ They consisted largely of vagrants and thieves and, therefore, were likely to have belonged to the poorer classes, if penury is assumed to have been a common cause of theft. In all those numbers, however, there must have been a considerable potential for disturbance, whether social or political. The imperial government showed, perhaps, a certain short-sightedness in allowing so many convicts from Ireland to be sent into the American colonies. The ringleader of riots in Rhode Island over the Stamp Act was an Irish convict, one Samuel Crandall.⁽⁶³⁾

It is not known how many Irish convicts stayed in America once their servitude had expired, but it is thought that a majority remained in the colonies. Once freed they were granted the same dues and opportunity to start a new life as other indented servants. The journey back to Ireland was expensive. Many preferred not to return to the scene of their original disgrace and risk being

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61. Quoted in Nettels, American Civilisation, p.403.
 62. Smith's estimate, Colonists in bondage, p.134; Nettels, *op.cit.*, reckoned that about 50,000 convicts were transported from the Brit.Isles.
 63. Cal.H.O.Papers 1760-5, pp.609-11; 1766-9, p.3; J.R.Bartlett, *ed.*, Records of the Colony of Rhode Island, VI, 454; Crandall is thought to have been a Presbyterian.

transported again for some other petty offence.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Convicts had been heard to declare that they would rather be hanged than transported a second time.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Nevertheless, some convicts risked execution by escaping in the colonies and making their way back to Ireland before their time had been served.⁽⁶⁶⁾ One of the unluckiest of these was Thomas Carrol, who had been transported for fourteen years for cow-stealing. He managed to return home after ten years, only to be executed at Cork in April 1767.⁽⁶⁷⁾

Thomas Carrol had stolen a cow, then a capital offence. Most of his fellows had been transported for what are now considered minor felonies.⁽⁶⁸⁾ They all went to the colonies unwillingly and many were, in consequence, troublesome; some continued to commit offences. These were the ones who received most publicity. Richard Roche, for example, who had been whipped in Dublin before being transported, was whipped in New Jersey for burglary and finally executed at New York in 1753.⁽⁶⁹⁾ It is reasonable to suppose, however, that some of the Irish convicts who finally settled in America reformed. They had been severely punished for their offences. Since they had been transported to provide labour they were generally healthy young people. The outlook for them was not necessarily hopeless and those who managed to stay out of the colonial jails could contribute something to the building of America.

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64. In Ireland the chances of this were greater than ever, Shaw, Convicts, p.36.
 65. Sir John Fielding to the Earl of Suffolk, Cal.H.O.Papers 1773-5, p.11.
 66. Dublin Weekly Journal, 12 Dec. 1730 reports execution of three convicts for returning from transportation.
 67. Dublin Mercury, 11-14 Apr. 1767.
 68. Appendix B.
 69. Extracts from American newspapers relating to New Jersey, III, 240.

CHAPTER VII

IRELAND AND NEWFOUNDLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

While the Irish servant, whether he had come voluntarily or been transported, was becoming a common figure on the mainland of North America, every summer the Newfoundland fisheries were a setting for the Irish migrant. Annual migration of labourers, or spalpeens, had long been a feature of rural society in Ireland. This movement could, when work was scarce, overflow to England and, after 1600, also to Newfoundland. The latter migration grew considerably in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In Elizabethan times "good Newfoundland fish" was brought from western English ports to victual the military establishment in Ireland.⁽¹⁾ In 1595, with the approval of the Irish government, Nicholas Weston, merchant and sometime Mayor of Dublin, sent two ships to Newfoundland, ostensibly to make good shortages of provisions in Ireland.⁽²⁾ He is thought to have established a precedent and therefore the first Irish migrants probably went to Newfoundland even before 1600. As time went on Ireland's connections with the Newfoundland fish trade expanded as West Country merchants adopted the practice of calling at Irish ports to collect provisions for the voyage. In consequence, the annual migration of labourers from Ireland to Newfoundland became a well-defined movement in the first

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1. Cal.S.P.(Ire.) 1598-9, p.297 and earlier calendared references.
 2. Cal.S.P.(Ire.) 1592-6, p.450.

half of the seventeenth century. In the later decades of the century a number of migrants each year did not return to Ireland, but stayed to settle in Newfoundland, thereby attracting more immigrants from their native land. By the end of the eighteenth century, therefore, the Irish had become the dominant nation in Newfoundland. Others of the migrants found themselves, by one means or another, in the mainland colonies, usually New England. The Newfoundland fisheries played a part, therefore, in bringing to North America a considerable number of permanent settlers from Ireland.

Newfoundland, which could claim to be the oldest English possession in North America, held little attraction for prospectors in land or minerals. Several schemes for colonisation which would have linked Ireland with Newfoundland were proposed in the early seventeenth century, but nothing came of them.⁽³⁾ Newfoundland continued to be largely the realm of fishermen. Its abundant fisheries which had amazed the Cabots, were, indeed, worthy of exploitation.⁽⁴⁾ The demand for fish in Europe was such that several countries competed for a share in or control of the fishing grounds, so that Newfoundland became something of a North American cockpit.⁽⁵⁾ Before the end of the sixteenth century naval supremacy enabled the English

3. G. T. Cell, The Newfoundland Company, William and Mary Quarterly, Oct. 1965, pp.611-25; R. Burne, A Plain Pathway to the Plantations, ed. L.B.Wright, New York, 1962, p.xix; Lord Baltimore's schemes.
4. C. R. Markham, ed. and translator, Journal of Christopher Columbus and Documents relating to the voyages of John Cabot, etc., 1493, pp.201-4.
5. Bridenbaugh, Vexed and troubled Englishmen, p.227; R. B. Morris, Encyclopedia of American History, New York, 1961, p.59.

to secure a major interest in the fisheries which was reserved for merchants of the West Country.⁽⁶⁾ Irish based ships were at first only permitted to bring Newfoundland fish from the west of England ports to Ireland.⁽⁷⁾ After Nicholas Weston's venture merchants of Ireland, not without opposition, gradually pushed their way into the fisheries.⁽⁸⁾

From the beginning of James I's reign the Newfoundland fisheries were regarded as a training ground for seamen for the Royal Navy and this was to be the principle behind English policy for two centuries.⁽⁹⁾ The West Country merchants were expected to play their part by recruiting fishermen in England. They, however, were to find it more convenient and cheaper to sail light to Ireland, there to load with provisions and labourers for the season in Newfoundland.⁽¹⁰⁾ Irish labourers may have been easier to obtain, but their known fortitude must also have weighed in the matter. Apparently indifferent to harsh living conditions, they neither sought nor expected comfort. Because they could endure the rough and tough life of the fisheries better and at lower wages than the English the West Country skippers persisted

6. R. G. Lounsbury, The British Fishery at Newfoundland 1634-1763, Yale, 1934, Chapter I.

7. *Ibid.*, p.34.

8. *Ibid.*, p.35.

9. 1 Jas. I.c.29; Lounsbury, Newfoundland, p.34; Mackay, Newfoundland, pp.245-64.

10. It is not known when English fishing vessels first adopted this practice, but the victualling in Ireland of outward bound merchant ships from England was taking place by 1619, Rees.Va.Co.III, pp. 188, 193-202; H. F. Kearney, "Mercantilism and Ireland 1620-40", Historical Studies, I, 62.

in their habit of collecting both supplies and labourers in Ireland, despite official disapproval.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, Ireland was supplying not only large quantities of beef, pork and woollens but also a high proportion of labourers for the fisheries.⁽¹¹⁾ These Irish labourers were usually unmarried boys, called "youngsters" in the trade. At that time they, as a rule, indented for two seasons. Their tasks were to help in the catches and in the salting and packing of fish for the voyage to Europe. It was said that they were not well treated by their English masters.⁽¹²⁾ By 1675, however, the West Country factors were facing competition from France, New England and Ireland.⁽¹³⁾

Trade between Ireland and Newfoundland increased considerably in the late seventeenth century and with it the numbers of migrants. Some of the Irish were now beginning to settle in the island - and Newfoundland's east coast already had its "Ireland's Eye".⁽¹⁴⁾ The West Country merchants, however, had no wish to see a large permanent settlement of any nationality in Newfoundland; it would lead to the establishment of a civil government which, they feared, would oppose their interests.⁽¹⁵⁾ They had evidently not expected that the Irish migrants might settle. Other unforeseen problems had also arisen.

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11. D. W. Prowse, A history of Newfoundland, London 1896, pp.200-1.
 12. Ibid.
 13. Ibid. New England also had a large interest in the victualling business.
 14. C.O.199/16, P.R.O., London, map; Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1681-5, pp.105-6; in 1675 there were reported to be 1651 inhabitants in Newfoundland most of whom were servants, C.O.390/6, P.R.O., London.
 15. Stock, Proceedings and Debates, p.73n.

In 1681 Captain James Story wrote:

"The trade of the Irish to Newfoundland is linen, clothing of all kinds, meat, cheese, butter and all sorts of small merchandise. The ships likewise bring over many women passengers whom they sell for servants. A little after their coming they marry among the fishermen that live with the planters, and, being extremely poor, contract such debts as they are not able to pay. If the care be not speedily taken for the preservation of such passengers coming over the country will soon be ruined." (16)

The chief villains in this matter appear to have been the New Englanders who, with characteristic Yankee opportunism, induced labourers to contract debts and then sold them as indentured servants to masters of sloops bound for the mainland. (17) In time over 1,000 men were thus being enticed away from Newfoundland each year. (18) All efforts to stop this traffic were in vain and it continued, in fact, until 1775. In that year, among Lord North's punitive measures against the American colonies, was one which closed the Newfoundland fisheries to the New Englanders. (19) By that time many Irishmen and women had come to New England via Newfoundland. (20)

If the Irish labourers were badly treated by their masters in Newfoundland they may have been willing enough to be swept away to the mainland. Yet, they were evidently not deterred from joining the

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16. Captain James Story to [William Blathwayt?] 1 Sept. 1681, Cal.S.P. (A.&W.I.) 1681-5, pp.105-6.
 17. Ibid., pp.707-8; Lounsbury, Newfoundland, pp.178, 259.
 18. Ibid.
 19. S. E. Morison, The Oxford History of the American People, London and New York, 1965, p.210.
 20. Donovan, Irish in Massachusetts, pp.32, 34-5.

fishing fleets as they left Ireland and in the eighteenth century even more of them did so, as connections between Ireland and Newfoundland expanded.

In 1704 Irish merchants were at last officially admitted to the fisheries. Consequently, a number of merchants, including Roman Catholics, emigrated to Newfoundland to establish themselves as planters and employers. They mostly settled near the coast and participated in the fishing industry.⁽²¹⁾ Subsequently, trade between Ireland and Newfoundland intensified, with Newfoundland exchanging fish and train-oil for Irish provisions, linen and other products, including naval stores. In the early eighteenth century many ports in southern Ireland were handling the Newfoundland trade. These included not only Dublin, Cork and Youghal, but Bantry, Kinsale, Dingle and Baltimore.⁽²²⁾ Waterford, however, was beginning to gain and continued to hold the largest share of it.

Increased traffic between the two islands promoted more migration as well as further emigration to Newfoundland. It was now more usual to recruit labour for one fishing season at a time. This gave those who were unemployed in Ireland the chance of earning a living without the wrench of permanent emigration. Each year, an increasing number of Irishmen, mostly Roman Catholic and many of them mere boys,

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21. O'Brien, Economic history, p.171; C.O.199/16, 199/17, P.R.O., London; permanent settlement of fishermen was in defiance of the Newfoundland Act of 1699.
22. C.O.390/6. ff.223-42 (Irish imports); issues of the Dublin Gazette 1708-11; W. F. Adams, Ireland and Irish emigration to the New World, Yale, 1932, p.72.

took part in the migration to Newfoundland. They left home in April or May and returned usually in November. (23)

The response of the Irish to Newfoundland's demand for seasonal labour in the eighteenth century was such that Ireland often supplied as many as nine-tenths of the temporary fishermen required. (24) The fishing merchants of Great Britain, particularly those of the ports of Bristol, Dartmouth, Teignmouth and others of south-west England had well-established agencies in southern Irish ports for victualling their ships and collecting labour. (25)

These developments gave increasing displeasure to the imperial government. The nursery for able seamen which the Newfoundland fisheries had presented a century before had become a hive of Catholic Irish. Most of them were not interested in the navy, even if their religion had not been a barrier to entering it. An attempt by Lord Baltimore to establish a Catholic colony in Newfoundland in the early seventeenth century had foundered partly because of opposition by the few Protestant settlers, although later the Roman Catholic religion had been brought into the island by the French who occupied part of it. (26) Now a community of Catholic Irish, which was growing larger year by year, had settled in the island. Priests also came, but the authorities succeeded in banishing them in the earlier part

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23. A. Young, Tour in Ireland, Dublin, 1780, II, 177.
 24. Capt. Osborn to the Duke of Newcastle, 14 Oct. 1729, Cal.S.P. (A. & W.I.) 1728-2, pp.504-5; Ibid., 1732, pp.223-5; 1735-6, p.69.
 25. Commodore Clinton to Mr. Popple, 30 Mar. 1732, Cal.S.P. (A. & W.I.) 1732, p.96.
 26. Prowse, Newfoundland, p.604.

of the century.⁽²⁷⁾ Officially, all but Roman Catholics had free exercise of religion in the English colony.⁽²⁸⁾ Objections to the presence of the Irish in Newfoundland poured in, mostly from the Protestant inhabitants. As usual, they expressed a fear that the Irish might combine with the French and oust the English from the fisheries altogether. There were also many complaints about their conduct and efficiency; drunkenness, disorderly behaviour and idleness being frequently mentioned.⁽²⁹⁾ In 1731 merchants were said to be bringing over Irish convicts as servants.⁽³⁰⁾ This is not unlikely and in 1738 more justices were sent to Newfoundland to deal with disturbances attributed to "Irish Papists".⁽³¹⁾ In fairness to the Irish of Newfoundland, however, some facts relating to the organisation of the fishing migration need to be told.

The fishing fleet skippers were not always particular in choosing their labour. At the Irish ports they not merely recruited, but sometimes seized anyone who was near; and it was said that the jails were sometimes emptied for them.⁽³²⁾ Consequently, among those who went to Newfoundland, were a number of unwilling hands and also too many "green men" who lacked previous experience of the sea.⁽³³⁾

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27. Lounsbury, Newfoundland, p.208; Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1735-6, p.67; C.O.199/17, p.37.
 28. Ibid.
 29. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1731, pp.278-9; 1735-6, p.68; Lounsbury, Newfoundland, pp.296, 300-7.
 30. J.P's of St. Johns to Governor Clinton, 1 Oct. 1731, Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1731, p.279.
 31. Ibid., 1738, pp.235-7.
 32. Ibid., 1730, pp.265-8; J.P's of St. John's to Governor Clinton, 1 Oct. 1731, ibid., 1731, p.279.
 33. Ibid., 1726-7, p.380.

A few of the labourers belonged to the criminal and violent elements of the population who were likely to be troublesome in any circumstances. Advantage was often taken of the men's ignorance, illiteracy or their misunderstanding of English and they went to Newfoundland without really knowing to what they were committing themselves. (34)

They sailed free of charge to Newfoundland in the large merchantmen. There they transferred to the bye-boats; five or six men worked in each boat. (35) The fishing season appears to have been one of extreme hardship and exploitation. During it the men worked throughout the long hours of daylight and were, it is said, so ill-treated and under-fed that they tried to dull their senses with rum. (36) For this and other necessities they were overcharged by monopolist vendors, mostly from New England. (37)

At the end of the season, in September or October, the merchants, having paid the wages, were under no obligation to bring the men home; these had to pay for a return passage. (38) Some labourers, having spent all their money were, therefore, forced to remain behind. Those who were already in debt to New Englanders were taken away by them. Others became involved in disputes with skippers and they too were abandoned for the winter. (39) Undoubtedly, each

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34. Preface, Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1730, also pp.265-8 (Petitions).
 35. C.O.199/17, pp.80, 118; C.O.390/6.
 36. C.O.199/17, p.80.
 37. C.O.390/6, ff.264-83.
 38. C.O.199/17, p.118; Young, Tour, II, 184.
 39. C.O.199/17, pp.118-20; Lounsbury, Newfoundland, p.259;
Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1730, p.263.

season there were inefficient or indolent fishermen who may not have deserved any wages, and in such cases merchants could not be blamed for their attitude. There were certainly faults on both sides. Whatever the facts of each individual case, those Irishmen who were left behind faced a winter of unemployment and even homelessness in Newfoundland - certainly a bleak prospect. The more feckless and disorderly were those most likely to find themselves in this situation and, not surprisingly, they were troublesome.

In addition to these, a minority of labourers chose to stay behind at the end of the season. Some found work to do such as collecting fuel, sawing timber and building or mending boats.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Others preferred to spend their wages riotously until the next season began. In any case, there was not enough work to keep them all fully employed for the seven months that lay between seasons.⁽⁴¹⁾ During this period idleness and debauchery were said to be rife.⁽⁴²⁾ In fact, many of the penniless labourers could only subsist by plunder and other unlawful means.⁽⁴³⁾ A number of the Irish labourers made their own way south to New England or other mainland colonies in search of winter work or permanent settlement. In January 1774, 60 Irish persons arrived from Newfoundland to settle in Newport, Rhode Island.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Others were found as far south as New Jersey.⁽⁴⁵⁾

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- 40. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1738, pp.235-7.
 - 41. Acts of the Privy Council, VI, 392-3.
 - 42. Ibid.
 - 43. C.O.199/17, p.118.
 - 44. Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser, 3-10 Jan. 1774.
 - 45. New Jersey Newspaper Extracts, II, 206; IX, 413.

Most of the labourers returned to Ireland, however, and, after one profitable season, were likely to go back to the fisheries in successive years. In 1716 £18 to £20 per man was being paid for the fishing season. These were stated to be scarcity payments⁽⁴⁶⁾ but, later in the century, Arthur Young found that an experienced man could earn as much as £25, while a "green man" might start at £5.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The money was, no doubt, a welcome addition to the income of an Irish household, especially if more than one member of the family was able to go to the fisheries. The certainty of this has been queried by a few contemporary observers who considered that the returning migrants were as penniless as they had been when they went away.⁽⁴⁸⁾ No doubt, some labourers, having just managed to pay their fare, did come home in that condition, but others may only have appeared penniless - even the roughest of clothing could have had pockets.

The annual migration to the fisheries continued at an increasing rate throughout the eighteenth century; it was scarcely affected by the American War of Independence.⁽⁴⁹⁾ During times of war the fishing fleets had always been escorted across the Atlantic by ships of the Royal Navy. In 1697, for example, several vessels were reported to be waiting at Milford for H.M.S. "Crown" to convoy them first to Waterford and thence to Newfoundland.⁽⁵⁰⁾

46. Acts of the Privy Council (Colonial), VI, 117.

47. Young, Tour, II, 184.

48. G. Berkeley, Querist (1735), 1829 edition, No.526, p.139; Rev.J. Moekler (supposed author) "A Report on the State of the District around Mallow in 1775", Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society, 2nd series, XII, 24.

49. Arthur Young found it flourishing during his tour in the late 1770's.

50. Richard Usticke to the Council of Trade and Plantations, 28 Mar. 1697, Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1696-7, p.430.

Waterford was even then becoming the chief centre for the Newfoundland traffic, and the number of fishingvessels leaving its harbour each season before long exceeded that for any of the other southern ports. For this Waterford's special geographical position was partly responsible; its large natural harbour situated in the south-east of Ireland was conveniently placed for the fishing fleets coming from South Wales and Southern England. Furthermore, the immediate hinterland of Waterford, with the rich pastoral valleys of the Barrow, Nore and Suir, could supply provisions on a large scale. Waterford's trade in butter, beef and pork expanded greatly after 1700.⁽⁵¹⁾ The pre-eminence of Waterford in the victualling business was, in fact, attributed by one writer to "the goodness of the pork fed about this place".⁽⁵²⁾ One day in the spring of 1768 there was seen in Waterford harbour "upwards of 30 sail of ships, from different ports in England, there victualling before proceeding to Newfoundland".⁽⁵³⁾

By reason of its share in the provision trade and the migration of labourers to Newfoundland, Waterford now ranked as the third port in Ireland after Dublin and Cork.⁽⁵⁴⁾ In the summer of 1765 a list of vessels sailing from Ireland to the fisheries was published in one of the newspapers. Whereas 8 of these sailed from Cork and 3 from Youghal, 50 went from Waterford.⁽⁵⁵⁾ At this time between 3 and 5

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51. L. M. Cullen, "The overseas trade of Waterford as seen from a ledger of Courtenay and Ridgway", Jn. Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. 88, p. 167.
52. C. Smith, The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford, Dublin, 1774, p. 198.
53. Dublin Mercury, 30 Apr. - 3 May 1768.
54. Cullen, op.cit., p. 168.
55. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 16-20 July 1765.

thousand migrants were going annually from Waterford alone. In December 1767 the last of the Newfoundland ships had been reported home with 250 men on board, making a total of more than four thousand who had returned to Waterford at the end of that season.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Not all of these men belonged to the Waterford area; they might have come from any part of the country. Before 1780 Arthur Young observed on the migration from Waterford: "from 50 to 80 ships, and from 3,000 to 5,000 annually. They come from most parts of Ireland, from Cork, Kerry, etc."⁽⁵⁷⁾

At times a ship for the fisheries might sail from Dublin; in 1767, for example, 170 Irish labourers and fishermen left that port.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Cork, however, appears to have ranked next to Waterford in respect of the Newfoundland migration, but only at about one-sixth of Waterford's rate. In the season of 1767, when more than 4,000 labourers sailed from Waterford, 700 sailed from Cork.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Of these 263 were stated to have died in Newfoundland,⁽⁶⁰⁾ but this appears to have been an unusual occurrence, perhaps owing to an epidemic, although men were often lost in heavy seas.⁽⁶¹⁾ A more telling incident took place in November 1770 when 100 men, homeward bound from Newfoundland, were impressed at Cove. Twenty of them were released, but eighty were found fit for H.M. service - a brusque but sure certificate of health.⁽⁶²⁾

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- 56. Dublin Mercury, 19-22 Dec. 1767.
 - 57. Young, Tour, II, 184.
 - 58. Massachusetts Gazette, 21 May 1767.
 - 59. Dublin Mercury, 19-22 Dec. 1767.
 - 60. Ibid.
 - 61. Freeman's Journal, 12-16 Nov. 1765.
 - 62. Dublin Mercury, 13-15 Nov. 1770.

In addition to the migrants who left the southern ports of Ireland for the fisheries went each year a number of people who intended to settle in Newfoundland. In 1768, 190 "natives of Ireland" left Dublin to settle in St. John's.⁽⁶³⁾ At one period the Irish population of the island was increasing by immigration alone at the rate of about 300 persons a year.⁽⁶⁴⁾ As early as 1731 it was reckoned that three-quarters of the inhabitants of the south and west of the island were Irish Catholics.⁽⁶⁵⁾

They suffered little persecution in Newfoundland, nor were they worried much by a lack of priests and places of worship. In 1736 Captain Lee, the governor, wrote that the

"Irish Papists, who are very numerous are so happy that they have not a priest amongst them, as I cou'd ever find or hear of".⁽⁶⁶⁾

During Governor Dorrill's administration in 1755-6 they did experience some persecution because the entire Catholic population was blamed for a murder that had taken place.⁽⁶⁷⁾ The campaign was short-lived and their numbers continued to grow, as did toleration of their religion.

During Governor Palliser's term of office 1764-8 the influence and numbers of Englishmen increased in Newfoundland, but the influx of Irish could not be checked.⁽⁶⁸⁾ In 1771 it was reported that the

63. News from Dublin, Boston Weekly News-Letter, 18 Aug. 1768.

64. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1731, p.279.

65. Ibid.

66. Captain Lee, Governor of Newfoundland, to Mr. Popple, Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1735-6, p.67; Lonsbury, Newfoundland, p.208.

67. Ibid., p.303; Prowse, Newfoundland, pp.293-4.

68. W. H. Whiteley, "Governor Hugh Palliser and the Newfoundland Fishery, 1764-1768", Canadian Historical Review, June 1969, pp.154, 160.

settlements of St. John's and Placentia "continue greatly to increase from the vast numbers of Irish and other emigrants who arrive each fishing season".⁽⁶⁹⁾ In 1784 the Irish of Newfoundland were dignified when Rev. James Louis O'Donel of Knocklofty, Co. Tipperary, was appointed Prefect Apostolic of the island by Pope Pius VI.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Governor Palliser had more success in reducing - if temporarily - the number of fishermen who were carried away by the New Englanders.⁽⁷¹⁾ This had long been a cause of complaint, especially since the 1730's.⁽⁷²⁾ In some years as many as 1500 men, including Irish migrants, were taken from the British fisheries.⁽⁷³⁾ The yearly loss of potential seamen became a serious matter. From time to time "the Americans", as they were called with a certain antipathy,⁽⁷⁴⁾ would enter into agreements to desist, but, like so many other contracts and regulations concerning the Newfoundland fisheries, these were seldom observed.⁽⁷⁵⁾ The New Englanders traded with and fished in the same grounds as the British. As H.M. subjects they considered that they had every right to do so.⁽⁷⁶⁾ They were at the same time both partners and rivals in the fisheries. Irish labourers, with or without persuasion, could have had little conscience about transferring themselves from one master to another.

69. Dublin Mercury, 5-7 Nov. 1771.

70. Prowse, Newfoundland, p.605.

71. Whiteley, op.cit., p.160.

72. J. Reeves, History of the government of Newfoundland, London, 1793, p.66; Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1734-5, p.276.

73. Palliser reported as many as 2,000, Whiteley, op.cit., p.153.

74. C.O.390/6, refers to ships "from America" in 1707.

75. Whiteley, op.cit., etc.

76. C.O.199/17, p.16.

The leakage continued and, in this way, a considerable number of Irish Catholics reached the mainland colonies during the colonial period.

CHAPTER VIII

SOME FEATURES OF THE VOYAGE TO AND ARRIVAL IN THE COLONIES

Whether they travelled as passengers, servants, convicts or fishing labourers, emigrants from Ireland to America during the colonial period must have received very similar impressions of the voyage. By modern standards ships were strikingly small. The largest of those engaged in the passenger trade at that time rarely exceeded 300 tons, but a tonnage of 100 to 200 was more usual and many people travelled to America on vessels of well under 100 tons. In 1751 the "Royal Catherine", a 20-ton sloop, brought 22 servants from Dublin to New Jersey, to mention only one example.⁽¹⁾

Among British mariners in the eighteenth century a comfort ratio was considered to be one person per ton including the crew. A vessel of 100 tons, for example, usually had a crew of twelve,⁽²⁾ so that its average complement would be 88 adult passengers. When this proportion was exceeded - and it frequently was - then those on board had literally little room for comfort.

In the best of circumstances, however, comfort on vessels of such a size, some of which were not even designed to carry passengers, could only be a relative term. Moreover, in those times, even the wealthy did not enjoy the standards of living and travel that are

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1. C.O.5/1035, Naval Office Returns, New Jersey. Even Whitehaven colliers took emigrants from Ireland to the colonies, Davis, English Shipping, pp.359-61; Appendix C.
 2. Colonial Naval Office Returns, P.R.O., London.

available to ordinary people at the present day. To very many eighteenth-century emigrants conditions on board ship were no worse - and may have been better - than the crowded insanitary dwellings that had been their homes. It was the long confinement in cramped, badly ventilated and ill-lit quarters between decks that tested their endurance.

Those passengers who paid the full fare expected the best accommodation that was provided, but it was often necessary to offer extra money for additional space and comfort. Servants, on the other hand, could command little of either and were often overcrowded. In September 1732, for example, the 35-ton schooner "Ann and Elisabeth" arrived in New York with 12 tons of provisions and 57 servants from Dublin.⁽³⁾ In the course of the eighteenth century, however, conditions for them improved when some colonies extended their regulations to cover the treatment of servants during their passage.⁽⁴⁾ Convicts, however, were the prime concern of the Irish government which always demanded that they should be landed in good condition. They are thought, therefore, to have received more care during the voyage than servants; not for nothing were they known as "His Majesty's seven-year passengers". Once they were on board their treatment was at the captain's discretion. It is unlikely that they were kept chained in

3. C.O.5/1225, P.R.O., London.

4. Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, II, 54-6; V, 94-7; VIII, 29-31; Massachusetts Bay legislation, Immigration: Select documents and Case Records, ed. E. Abbott, pp.536-7.

groups of six once the ship was at sea⁽⁵⁾ - unless they were troublesome. Some were known to have received privileges and women convicts could often fare well on the voyage.⁽⁶⁾ Convicts frequently travelled to the colonies in the same vessels as passengers and servants. All passengers were allowed to bring baggage and "utensils",⁽⁷⁾ which were, presumably, household goods. It is almost certain that some charges were made for luggage in excess of a certain weight.

The journey might last for anything from four weeks to four months depending on the weather; one emigrant ship from Ireland was said to have been at sea for 23 weeks.⁽⁸⁾ The voyage was greatly extended when some of the outward bound vessels called at Madeira to collect wine in exchange for Irish goods on colonial accounts. Madeira wine could be imported into the colonies free of duty and, consequently, there was a heavy demand for it.⁽⁹⁾ Before returning to Ireland some ships went southwards to the West Indies for cargo.⁽¹⁰⁾ In any case, the length of the voyage, when added to the many weeks that were spent in port at each stage of it, meant that a ship could usually make only one round trip in a year.⁽¹¹⁾ Two voyages a year

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5. Smith's assertion, Colonists in bondage, p.125.
 6. Defoe, Moll Flanders, pp.252-60.
 7. Ibid.; Naval Office Returns (Colonial), P.R.O., London.
 8. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 24-27 May 1729.
 9. Account of Madeira, Cal.H.O.Papers 1766-9, p.75; A. L. Jensen, The maritime commerce of colonial Philadelphia, 1963, p.61.
 10. Pue's Occurrences, 7-10 Aug. 1731 (Advertisement); Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 10-14 June 1729 (Advertisement).
 11. G. M. Walton, "Sources of productivity change in American Colonial Shipping 1675-1775", Economic History Review, 2nd series, April 1967, pp.74-6.

were infrequent from southern Ireland; vessels which used the shorter more northerly route could sometimes manage it,⁽¹²⁾ but in those days of sail very much depended on weather conditions.

Atlantic storms, terrifying and dangerous though they were, did not in themselves present the worst hazards. A prolonged voyage could mean that provisions ran short. During one very stormy and long passage from Dublin in 1729 more than sixty people perished through want.⁽¹³⁾ On another desperate ship from Ireland cannibalism was said to have taken place.⁽¹⁴⁾ Some captains sailed well prepared for delays with extra stores on board.⁽¹⁵⁾ Others were less experienced or too ready to run risks, while there were always a few who were so avid for excessive profits that they spent the minimum on supplies. These were the ones who imposed rationing from the outset of the voyage so that passengers suffered greatly from hunger and thirst.⁽¹⁶⁾

A certain dread of both crew and passengers was of infectious illness breaking out during the voyage. When this happened mortality was inevitably heavy. On the "George and Ann" from Dublin which arrived at Newcastle, Delaware, in 1729, about 100 people had died during the journey.⁽¹⁷⁾ Among convicts was the possibility of gaol fever.⁽¹⁸⁾ There was also a host of other afflictions and discomforts

12. G. M. Walton, *op.cit.*

13. Dublin Intelligence, 1 Mar. 1729.

14. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 29 Dec. - 2 Jan. 1741/2.

15. Poe's Occurrences, 7-10 Aug. 1731; Dublin Intelligence, 26 Aug. 1729.

16. Dublin Evening Post, 1-5 July 1735.

17. Extracts from the Journal of Charles Clinton, Penn.Mag., XXVI, 112-14.

18. Acts of the Privy Council, V, 83.

occasioned when a large number of people lived for weeks in a confined space, for the problem of ventilation in the holds of ships had not been solved in those times. (19)

Such were the expected vicissitudes of a journey to America in the colonial period. On the whole, however, there does not appear to have been a heavy death rate on ships from Ireland in the eighteenth century. There are few available personal accounts of a voyage across the Atlantic from Ireland. Charles Clinton kept a journal on the voyage of the "George and Ann", mentioned above, but that could hardly have been a normal passage. Some historians indeed create the impression that an emigrant's journey from Europe to the American colonies was one of unrelieved misery and horror. (20) In certain circumstances it undoubtedly was. The supposedly classic account is that of Gottlieb Mittelberger. (21) He chose to travel on a grossly overcrowded emigrant ship from Germany to Pennsylvania in 1750. He wrote of drinking water that was thick, black and full of worms; of lice so thick, especially on sick people, that they could be scraped off the body; of a woman in labour who was pushed through a port-hole into the sea because there was no room to deliver her.

Less horrifying, and probably more typical of voyages from the British Isles, were the experiences of John Harrower, (22) who, in

19. Smith, Colonists in bondage, pp.215-16.
20. Nettels, American civilisation, pp.390-1; Geiser, op.cit., pp.43-50.
21. M. Jensen, ed., English Historical Documents (American Colonial documents to 1776), London, 1955, pp.464-9; the worst conditions appear to have been associated with German ships.
22. M. Riley, ed., The Journal of John Harrower, An Indentured Servant in the Colony of Virginia 1773-6, Williamsburg, 1963, pp.17-28 and Appendix II.

1773, travelled from the Isle of Wight as one of 70 indented servants, including two Irishmen. As soon as he went on board he received a hammock and bedding. Soon after sailing the servants threatened mutiny unless the food allowance was increased. Sickness broke out and, at one time, 50 people were ill, but only two deaths occurred. The corpses were sewn into their hammocks and committed to the sea. The 'tween decks were cleaned and washed with vinegar and the captain ordered chickens to be killed and fresh broth made for the sick.

The eighteenth century was a harsh age and seamen were often the hardest of men. Yet few mariners relished sickness and death occurring on their ships. Many captains were also the owners or part-owners of the vessels they commanded.⁽²³⁾ Pride of ownership and humane considerations apart, it was in their own best interests to land their passengers, servants or convicts, in good form. Paying passengers would be quick to complain if they had been ill-treated and this could only be bad for business. Servants and convicts fetched the highest prices if they were healthy and cheerful on arrival. John Harrower's diary, for one, refutes the commonly held belief that every emigrant ship was manned by a brutal, unrelenting crew who tortured the meek, helpless passengers. Instances of bullying were probably not uncommon and some cases were brought to the notice of the public and justice exacted.

23. Colonial Naval Office Returns, P.R.O., London.

One of these, and the worst that has come to light involving Irish emigrants, was that of Thomas Cumming.⁽²⁴⁾ He was brought before a parliamentary court of inquiry in 1736 to answer charges made against him by a party of people. He and three of his brothers, who owned a vessel called the "George", had, by the usual exaggerated accounts of better prospects in the colonies, persuaded a number of Protestants to emigrate and take passage with him. First they were asked to pay a sum of money in advance. Then they were advised to be in Dublin five or six weeks before the ship was due to sail. During this period they used up much of their remaining money and consequently were at the mercy of the Cumming party. After the vessel finally sailed, the passengers were subjected to brutal treatment, and, in particular, their Presbyterian religion was mocked. Luckily the ship was forced back to port by bad weather and a few of the passengers managed to come ashore and seek justice. The sailing of the "George" was stopped by order of the Lord-Lieutenant and Cumming was arraigned. During the inquiry it was further revealed that Cumming had illegally obtained indenture forms and that he had, on a number of previous occasions, enabled criminals to escape to the colonies.⁽²⁵⁾

In some respects the Cumming case was exceptional, but it did reveal a few of the arts which some shippers used in order to promote emigration and profit by it. These may have stopped short of

24. Stock, Proceedings and Debates, IV, pp. 848-54.
 25. Dublin Evening Post, 16-20 Dec. 1735.

kidnapping or outright robbery of passengers, but they did involve sharp practices; while even the most estimable of captains might occasionally find it expedient to ignore regulations.

Another case at this time concerned John Trimble, master of the "Two Friends", intending to sail from Carlingford Lough to Philadelphia. The petition was brought by two seamen who had contracted to go with him. Their deposition was that the captain was proposing to take 200 passengers, although the ship's tonnage was only 120 and had been advertised as 150. They also discovered that the ship's provisions were not only inadequate, but damaged. This sailing was also stopped. (26)

Other malpractices could be mentioned such as compelling passengers to pay extra charges for spurious benefits or for a prolonged voyage, and callous robbery of the sick and dying. (27) The Assembly of Pennsylvania was one of those which had to introduce legislation which ordered masters of ships to present a complete inventory of the goods and chattels of passengers who had died in order that they might be passed to their next of kin. Anyone failing to do so was fined £100, a heavy rate for those times. (28) The most

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26. Stock, Proceedings and Debates, IV, 250-1, 850.
 27. Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, V, 94-7; Dublin Evening Post, 1-5 July 1735; Geiser, 'Indentured Servants', pp. 45-8; when the father of Charles Thomson, who became secretary to the first Continental Congress, died on the voyage from Ulster the captain embezzled his money and sold his six motherless children into servitude, unsigned article in Ulster Commentary, H.M.S.O., Belfast, Feb. 1971.
 28. Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, V, 94-7.

common transgressions, however, concerned the over-loading of vessels, especially with servants, and the inadequate victualling of emigrant ships.⁽²⁹⁾ Consequently, the arrival in colonial ports of too many ship-loads of starving and diseased people, not always from Ireland, but from other countries, became a serious problem in the eighteenth century. By the middle of the century hospitals or quarantine centres were in use at the ports of Pennsylvania to prevent the spread of infectious diseases.⁽³⁰⁾ Several colonies also enforced regulations governing the transportation of servants and the victualling of ships. Servants' sleeping quarters had to measure at least 6 feet by 2 feet by 1½ feet per person, dimensions regarded as the minimum for adults, that is, people over fourteen years of age.⁽³¹⁾ Captains could be fined for non-observance of these regulations.

It was not always mariners who offended, however. Passengers too could be dishonest and troublesome; servants might also be unruly and convicts menacing. The ship could be endangered by riotous behaviour on the part of any group. Severity of master and crew, who were usually outnumbered, might often be justified. On John Harrower's ship two servants were put in irons "for wanting other than what was served".⁽³²⁾ On the "Elizabeth and Ann", bound from Waterford to

29. Irish Commons Journal, IV, p.189.

30. Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, V, 94-7; Bolton, Scotch-Irish Pioneers, pp.160-3.

31. Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, V, 94-7; Smith, Colonists in bondage, pp.211-13; E. Abbott, ed., Immigration: Select documents and Case records, Chicago, 1924, pp.6-7.

32. Riley, Harrower, p.25.

Virginia in 1741, servants overpowered the crew, held the captain and ran the ship aground on the coast of France where they escaped ashore. It was reported that "they had grown sick of their contract".⁽³³⁾ In 1753 when a vessel from Ireland ran aground on the American coast the servants on board mutinied, killing all the crew except the captain.⁽³⁴⁾ Taking such a wide assortment of willing and unwilling passengers across the Atlantic was often, no doubt, a vexatious business. It is not surprising that mariners should have appeared hard and mercenary.

There developed, inevitably, a great deal of cold-blooded calculation in the matter of shipping people to America, but it is good to note that a certain amount of human fellowship was also engendered. Ocean voyages are, of course, well-known for fostering close, though often ephemeral, friendships. In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries hundreds of captains brought people from Ireland to the colonies.⁽³⁵⁾ Apparently only a few of them received bad publicity. Not all of them were unfeeling predators. Many plied their ships between Ireland and America year after year and gained a worthy reputation for fairness and honesty. Notable among them was Captain Cowman who, in the early eighteenth century, was highly regarded in Quaker circles.⁽³⁶⁾ Two of his contemporaries,

33. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 7-11 Apr. 1741.

34. Ibid., 14-17 July 1753.

35. Appendix C.

36. Robert Parke's Letter to his sister in Ireland, written in 1725, quoted in Hanna, Scotch-Irish, 64-7.

Captain Nicholson of the "Freedom" and Captain Wilcocks of the "Phoenix" and the "Penn Galley" also carried passengers "to their satisfaction" over a long period.⁽³⁷⁾ In May 1751 Captain Troy, at that time master and owner of the "Polly", could claim in his advertisement that during many years not one passenger or servant had died "on their Passage, nor complained of being ill-treated by him".⁽³⁸⁾ Captain Troy continued for some time longer to transport passengers, including some who were "genteel", servants and convicts, together with "Irish potatoes", across the Atlantic.⁽³⁹⁾ He appears to have ended his career ferrying the gentry to and from Parkgate and Dublin.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Many were the captains who gained neither notoriety like Cumming nor fashionableness like Troy, but whose merit lies recorded in a line or two of small newspaper print. In 1768, for example, Captain Seymour of the "Newry Packet" arrived at Philadelphia from Dublin with 152 passengers and servants, "all in perfect health after a pleasant voyage of seven weeks".⁽⁴¹⁾ On 1 May 1771 Captain McCutcheon brought the "Polly" safely into Philadelphia with his passengers "all in good health and spirits" seven weeks after leaving Dublin.⁽⁴²⁾ There

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37. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 18-22 Feb. 1728/9; Dublin Weekly Journal, 28 Feb. 1729/30; Faulkner's Journal, 5-8 Feb. 1731/2; Pue's Occurrences, 7-10 Aug. 1731; Ibid., 26-29 May 1733.
38. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 21-25 May 1751.
39. C.O.5/1444, Oct. 1751; Pennsylvania Gazette, 25 Sept. 1755 and 29 Apr. 1756 (Troy's advertisements); Pue's Occurrences, Aug. 1758; Appendix C.
40. Dublin Mercury, 11-13 Oct. 1768.
41. Letter from Philadelphia, Dublin Mercury, 12-14 July 1768.
42. Ibid., 18-20 Jun. 1771.

are many other examples which indicate that a voyage across the Atlantic could be lengthy, but not cheerless. It is also difficult to believe that all those ship-loads of young Irish people could have been hulks of misery; Captain Atkins' "parcel of hearty, likely servants" from Cork suggests the contrary. (43)

Whether the voyage had been pleasant or unpleasant, most passengers were doubtless thankful when it came to an end. Those whose fares had been paid could disembark at once. Some of them might be lucky enough to be greeted by friends or relatives. Quakers had their Certificates of Removal and, no doubt, many Presbyterians also carried letters of introduction. Numerous newly arrived immigrants would still have to face a long land journey to their ultimate destination; colonial land grants were usually in the western reaches of the colonies. Redemptioners went off in search of liberators, while servants and convicts waited on board until they were sold. Captains were known to do their best to remove all traces of gaol from the latter with the use of wigs, for example. (44) The intention was rather to improve their appearance than conceal the fact that they were convicts; their indentures were a sufficient proof of that. It is remarkable, however, that the term "convict" seldom appears in the

43. Massachusetts Gazette, 15 Oct. 1767; one historian, possibly biassed, considered that the Irish sea-captains of this period were "sympathetic and charitable", G. O'Dwyer, "Captain John McDonnell and his British Prisoners", Jn.A.I.H.S., Vol. XVII, 1918.

44. Butler, "Convicts", p.27.

colonial Naval Office returns.⁽⁴⁵⁾ In 1743, for example, the "George" was reported to have reached Virginia from Dublin with 64 convicts,⁽⁴⁶⁾ but it was recorded as having arrived with 70 servants.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Apart from a possible rounding up of figures, the recording officer was not guilty of signing an error. Once they landed at the colonial ports servants and convicts were the same in law.⁽⁴⁸⁾ It might be many weeks before all the passengers, whatever their identity, had been cleared from the vessel. Time had to be allowed for the slowness of communications and some settlements were a long distance from the coast. One Irish boy was still on board six months after his ship had docked.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Perhaps the most unfortunate aspect of the selling of servants was that friendships that had formed in Ireland or during the voyage would be broken up as people were sold to different masters. Even family groups could thus be severed.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Stories too are told of the "soul-drivers". These were the sharks of the colonial ports who collected groups of destitute and bewildered immigrants as they landed; unscrupulous captains might also hand over some servants for quick disposal - probably those who were not expected to fetch good prices. These unfortunate parties of people were then driven like cattle through the towns and countryside until one by one they were

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45. Colonial Naval Office Returns, P.R.O., London.
 46. Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 6-10 Sept. 1743.
 47. C.O.5/1444; the vessel arrived in June having left Dublin in April.
 48. W. Miller, "Effects of the American Revolution on indentured servitude", Penn.Hist., VII, 132.
 49. Smith, Colonists in bondage, p.222.
 50. Nettels, American civilisation, pp.390-1.

sold - an exhausting and degrading experience for them all. (51)

An Irishman was said to have tricked a soul-driver and sold him instead to the landlord of a tavern! (52)

Indeed, all those who landed in that ample, but somewhat pitiless, New World, where there was small welcome for the weak, needed to have their wits about them. There were plenty of people besides the "soul-drivers" who were ready to take advantage of new arrivals. Many immigrants, no doubt, found that the realities of life in the colonies were far removed from the dream, but evidently few of them returned to Ireland. This and the fact that emigration from Ireland to the colonies increased rather than diminished during the eighteenth century must have confounded those who repeatedly warned that all emigrants were being lured away by false promises. (53) No doubt, many people had no wish ever to cross the Atlantic ocean again, nor were there free or assisted passages back to Ireland. The exceptions included a few Irish paupers who were sent home at their own request with public money from Massachusetts (54) and some convicts. Whatever their disappointments, most immigrants from Ireland remained in the colonies, there to pursue their multifarious lives and where they, unwittingly, helped to found a new nation.

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51. Nottels, American civilisation, pp.390-1; Geiser, "Indentured servants", p.54.
 52. Ibid., footnote.
 53. Boulter, Letters, I, 209-10; entry dated 27 Oct. 1773, Cal.H.O. Papers 1773-5; p.95; Memo. to the Lords Justices of Ireland, T.S.P.I., June 1727 - Dec. 1729; A. North, "The Hardships of the Irish", The Intelligencer, 1729, pp.214-16; Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 16-20 Apr. 1751.
 54. M. W. Jernegan, Laboring and dependent classes in colonial America 1607-1783, Chicago, 1931, pp.194-5.

CHAPTER IX

THE RECEPTION AND ABSORPTION OF IMMIGRANTS FROM IRELAND IN COLONIAL AMERICA

The fusion of diverse and polyglot peoples into the American republic in the years after 1775 forms an astonishing episode in modern history. The different ethnic and religious groups that came from Ireland alone might well have precluded political unity. Irish and non-Irish; Roman Catholics and Protestants; Anglicans and Dissenters; Presbyterians and Quakers; all had been in their various ways divisive elements in Ireland. In the vastness of America they found common ground, but this was to take some time.

The sturdy, square-set Irish servant of native origin had been known in the colonies since the early seventeenth century;⁽¹⁾ yet, of all the people who came from the British Isles, he was the slowest to be absorbed. What set him apart is sometimes difficult to determine. Often easily identified by his stature and use of the Irish language, he appeared as distinctive among the colonial population as the negro. The fact that he was a Roman Catholic certainly alienated him from nearly all colonial authorities, even though he had, as a rule, little chance of practising his religion. Most of the native Irish had come as indentured servants but this did not disfavour them. Nor were they all peasants, as at least one historian suggests.⁽²⁾ The

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1. Notices concerning runaway servants in American newspapers reveal that the native Irish servant was usually of this build.
 2. Bridenbaugh, Vexed and troubled Englishmen, p.417.

indications are, though, that many of them lacked any sort of skill or training and this has to be taken into account. The presence of so many convicts among them in the eighteenth century did not improve their social standing.⁽³⁾ The native Irish in the colonies, in fact, appear to have been always a conspicuous and sometimes a troublesome minority.

They had responded with some readiness to the colonies' demand for labour, but they were not, on the whole, the best of servants. In the West Indies, where they had settled in large numbers in the seventeenth century, they were considered inferior to the Scottish and Welsh servants; and were said to have been despised even by the negroes who called them "white slaves".⁽⁴⁾ As they became more numerous in the mainland colonies they here too were harshly criticised. New Englanders despised "Irish vagabonds brought over as servants, fellows and wenches brought up to no other Employments than the picking St. Patrick's Vermin".⁽⁵⁾ In Maryland the white servants, who were mostly Irish, were, in 1735, said to be "of an idle and slothful disposition".⁽⁶⁾ In colonial newspapers, notices about runaway Irish servants reveal that a common weakness among them was that of hard drinking which often led to abusive or violent behaviour.⁽⁷⁾ Tolerant

3. Geiser, "Indentured servants", p.104.

4. C.O.1/21, Nos.162, 170, P.R.O., London.

5. Quoted from New England Courant, 4-11 Jan. 1725 by L. T. Tower, "A Fondness for Freedom", Wm. & M.Q., 3rd series, XIX, 201-19.

6. Lt.-Gov. Ogle to the Council of T. & P., Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1734-5, p.254.

7. Extracts from newspapers relating to New Jersey.

Pennsylvania for a time debarred Irish servants on the grounds that they were disorderly.⁽⁸⁾ In Newfoundland Irish servants were once described as "the scum of that Kingdom".⁽⁹⁾

It was largely for political reasons, however, that the native Irish incurred most odium. Nearly all the legislation that was introduced in a number of colonies to check or lessen their immigration was thus motivated. Fears about their disloyalty to English interests and their sympathies with France and Spain were often expressed.

"... those of that nation whose hearts are against us", wrote one colonial governor of the Irish in the West Indies.⁽¹⁰⁾ These fears were frequently unfounded or exaggerated, but during times of war colonial authorities were genuinely concerned about the attitude of the Irish. Throughout America it could not be forgotten that from 1666 to 1668 the West Indian island of St. Christopher's (St. Kitt's) was in French hands largely owing to the action of Irish servants.⁽¹¹⁾

The Irish were, in addition, doubly suspect because of their religion. At the outset the English empire in America was designed to be an Anglican one,⁽¹²⁾ but, although no such religious uniformity obtained, the expanding colonies remained more or less Protestant. For much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Roman Catholicism

8. Chapter VI, above.

9. Commodore Clinton to Mr. Popple, 30 Mar. 1732, Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1732, p.96.

10. Ibid., 1731, Gov. Hunter to Duke of Newcastle, 8 Oct.

11. Ibid., 1661-8, p.386; 1689-92, pp.73, 79, 95.

12. E. H. Davidson, The Establishment of the English Church in the Continental American Colonies, North Carolina, 1936, p.11.

was feared and strong measures were taken to prevent it gaining ground in the colonies. To the Protestant authorities and settlers of English origin it was the religion of the two most menacing foreign powers, France and Spain. Tolerating Roman Catholicism was, therefore, tantamount to opening the door to the enemy. In the event, it proved to be impossible to keep Roman Catholicism entirely out of the English colonies but, at least, it remained a small and ineffective force until after the American Revolution. This was achieved largely by forbidding the entry of priests, effective in most colonies, and also by banning public worship. Attempts to curb the immigration of Irish servants and convicts were of little avail and they continued to arrive in considerable numbers. In order to understand the conditions in which they, as Roman Catholics, settled, it is necessary to outline the politico-religious background of the various colonial regions.

The situation in Newfoundland has already been described. In the islands of the West Indies where, according to Rev. John Grace, there were about 12,000 Irish Catholics dispersed in 1666⁽¹³⁾ two crucial problems arose: the defence of the islands against an all too easy infiltration and conquest by the French and a decline in the numbers of white settlers. Events of the Commonwealth period had created bitter hostility between the numerous Irish inhabitants and English planters and officials. The French had already received much

13. T. Hughes, History of the Society of Jesus in North America, Text, Vol. I, London, 1907, p. 315; P. F. Moran, Persecution of the Catholics of Ireland, Dublin, 1865, p. 147.

help from the "turbulent and dangerous spirits" among the Irish.⁽¹⁴⁾

Here more than anywhere else in the empire it was essential to establish harmonious relations between the English and the Irish. Owing to the efforts of Stapleton, Irish-born Catholic Governor of the Leeward Islands, and others, much was done then to calm the political fever of the Irish in the Caribbean, by allowing them freedom of religion.⁽¹⁵⁾

During the reign of James II the situation further improved; and in 1688 the Irish Catholics were reported to be building and decorating chapels in Montserrat and St. Christopher's.⁽¹⁶⁾ The Protestant Revolution and the Penal Laws for a time exacerbated once more relations between the Irish and English in the West Indies. Nevertheless, although a minority of the Irish settlers continued to collaborate with the French, especially at the turn of the century, the policy of toleration was still urged. One of Stapleton's successors, Governor Codrington, among others, also repeatedly advised the Irish that they had much to lose by opposing the English in the Caribbean.⁽¹⁷⁾

Furthermore, the West Indian militias were now dependent upon Irish recruits because the majority of the white inhabitants in the islands were of that nationality.⁽¹⁸⁾

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14. Minutes of the Council of Barbadoes, 26-7 June, 1660, Cal.S.P. (A. & W.I.) 1574-60, p.483.
 15. Governor William Lord Willoughby to the Lords of the Council, Cal.S.P. (A.&W.I.) 1661-8, p.587.
 16. Governor Sir Nathaniel Johnson to the Lords of T. & P., Nevis, 3 Mar. 1688, Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1685-8, p.513.
 17. Lt.-Gen. Codrington to the Governor of Montserrat, Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1689-92, pp.235-7; 1697-8, p.21.
 18. Ibid., 1693-6, No.204, p.58; No.281, p.87; 1697-8, No.760, p.390.

In the eighteenth century fresh arrivals of Irish servants and convicts, many of them with bitter feelings towards the English, were a constant anxiety to West Indian authorities. During the wars with the French attempts were made by some of the island assemblies to prevent the immigration of Roman Catholics, but these achieved little.⁽¹⁹⁾ The Irish were now the mainstay of the white population and had to be accepted.

The amount of religious toleration they were allowed was, however, limited by an enforced shortage of priests. There were doubtless converts to Protestantism and there was a constant migration of Irish people to the mainland colonies, especially to New England in the wake of trade.⁽²⁰⁾ Among those who remained in the West Indies the death rate continued to be high. Another question is whether life in these tropical islands, which, in colonial times, has been described as generally riotous and debauched, was conducive to piety.⁽²¹⁾

In Virginia there was no freedom of religion for Roman Catholics at any time during the colonial period. Although the established church here was weak and negligent and there was no organised persecution planters and officials were usually hostile to Roman Catholicism.⁽²²⁾

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19. Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1741/2-1749, p.424; Acts P.C., IV, 73-4, 214.
 20. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1697-8, p.341; 1699, p.517; W. D. Jordan, "The influence of the West Indies on the origins of New England slavery", Wm. & M.Q., 3rd ser., XVIII, 247.
 21. L. J. Ragatz, Fall of the Planter Class in the Caribbean 1763-1833, N.Y. and London, 1928, pp.18-21; Morison, American People, p.100; A. P. Newton, The European nations in the West Indies 1493-1688, London, 1933.
 22. Davidson, English Church, pp.87-90; Hughes, Society of Jesus, p.279; W. W. Hening, Statutes at Large, Virginia, Facsimile reprint, 1969, I, 269.

Most of the Irish servants, therefore, were glad to migrate to the frontier regions once they had served their time. Here, of course, they had no provision for religious worship. In 1717 Lt.-Governor Spotswood wrote to the Council of Trade and Plantations:

"The inhabitants of our frontiers are generally composed of such as have been transported hither as servants, and being out of their time go out and settle themselves where there is good land to be taken up and that will produce necessaries of life with little labour, ... they are so little concerned about Religion that the children of many of the inhabitants of these frontier settlements are twenty and thirty years of age ere they are baptised and some not at all." (23)

Within a few years the overall situation described here would have changed with the arrival of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, but the Irish Catholics in Virginia continued to lack a religious background.

In contrast to Virginia, which was primarily a commercial foundation, New England was largely the creation of religious refugees. Here, in the early years, it was not enough for immigrants to be Protestant - it had to be the right kind of Protestantism⁽²⁴⁾ and there was no toleration for Roman Catholicism. At first the New Englanders were able to preserve the Puritan exclusiveness of their colonies, but even they had to trade and form contacts with the rest of the world. Their original opposition to bonded servitude and slavery also yielded to economic pressure.⁽²⁵⁾ The New Englanders,

23. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1716-17, p.281.

24. Dissenters were severely dealt with in Massachusetts; the founder of Rhode Island was one of these, Dict.American History, Vol.VI, 1961, pp.252-6.

25. Barck & Lefler, Colonial America, p.97; Jordan, op.cit., pp.243-50.

not having large plantations, required fewer white servants than the more southerly colonies, but here too indentured service prevailed and the Irish servant made his appearance. The immigration of Irish servants and fishermen from Newfoundland has already been mentioned and by the end of the seventeenth century there were considerable numbers of Irish Catholics in the New England colonies. (26)

Theoretically they were unwelcome and their numbers increased but slowly. In 1704 the Attorney-General's submission on a test case, involving a petition by the Earl of Limerick for a grant of land in New England, was that a Roman Catholic could hold lands in H.M. Plantations because the disabling statute of William III extended only to lands in England, Wales and Berwick-on-Tweed. (27) However, when the Earl of Limerick, who had formerly been Governor Thomas Dongan of New York, tried to import Catholic Irish settlers for his lands the government of Massachusetts Bay absolutely refused him. (28)

Not surprisingly, religious zealots in New England tried to convert their Catholic servants, but it is not known what degree of success they had. (29) Even here, however, hostility to Roman Catholics and to the Irish gradually wore away. The Charitable Irish Society of Boston, founded in 1737, appears to have admitted Roman Catholics after 1742. (30) Only a quarter of a century later, on 18th March, 1768, the

26. Donovan, Irish in Massachusetts, pp.1-17; Butler, "Convicts", pp.20-1.

27. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1704-5, p.174.

28. Journal C.T. & P. 1708/9 - 1714/15, p.435.

29. Towner, op.cit., pp.201-19.

30. Bolton, Scotch-Irish, p.175; M. X. Sullivan, "Some Irish contributions to early American history", Jn.Am.Ir.H.S., Vol.IX.

anniversary of the Repeal of the Stamp Act, celebrations were held at two Boston taverns. There being a number of "Irish Gentlemen" present and the preceding day being St. Patrick's, among the toasts cheerfully drunk was one to St. Patrick and another to the sentiment "May the Sons of America and Ireland never be involved in slavery".⁽³¹⁾ Who exactly these Irish-Americans were is not known; on the far side of the Atlantic all those who had been born in Ireland were wont to claim it as their native land, but from such a coterie the native Irish could not have been excluded.

Maryland, because of its association with the Catholic Earls of Baltimore, is often cited as a Catholic colony. This was so far from being the case that for most of the colonial period Roman Catholics had a struggle to preserve a limited degree of toleration. Before the end of the seventeenth century Protestant Dissenters accounted for three-quarters of Maryland's inhabitants⁽³²⁾ and in the mid-eighteenth century it was reckoned that Roman Catholics formed no more than one-twelfth of the colony's population.⁽³³⁾ It was Protestant Dissenters who dominated the popular assembly. Between this and the Roman Catholic Proprietor there was frequent contention over religious policy.⁽³⁴⁾ In 1692 the Lord Proprietor, on account of his religion, was, for a time, actually deprived of the functions of government,

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31. Massachusetts Gazette, 24 Mar. 1768.
 32. C.O.1/41, p.61; Nettels, American Civilisation, p.185.
 33. Sharpe Correspondence, I, pp.496-7 (Sharpe to John Sharpe).
 34. Cal.S.P. (A. & W.I.) 1689-92, pp.103-5, 350.

although he still wielded much influence as the landlord.⁽³⁵⁾ With his approval many Irish Catholics were offered a refuge in Maryland from the penal laws in Ireland.⁽³⁶⁾ Prominent in this venture was the then Attorney-General of the colony, Charles Carroll. He himself had emigrated under the auspices of James II in 1688, claiming direct descent from one of Ireland's medieval kings.⁽³⁷⁾ By printing and distributing leaflets in Ireland promising religious toleration and lands at the end of their servitude, he promoted the immigration of "some hundreds" of Irish Catholic servants at the end of the seventeenth century.⁽³⁸⁾ Again in 1703 he brought over nearly 200 Irish Catholics and also a few priests.⁽³⁹⁾ Partly through his connection by marriage with the Calvert family and partly because of the number of settlers he imported Carroll owned about 60,000 acres of land in Maryland by the time of his death in 1720.⁽⁴⁰⁾

His importation of "Irish Papists", however, provoked anti-Catholic legislation by the Maryland Assembly. In 1704 in order to "prevent the growth of popery" severe penalties were imposed on those who celebrated mass in public or attempted the conversion of Protestants.⁽⁴¹⁾ These measures were later mitigated by order of

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- 35. K. M. Rowland, The Life and Correspondence of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, 1898, I, 4.
 - 36. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1706-8, p.67.
 - 37. Rowland, op.cit., I, pp.1-2; M. X. Sullivan, op.cit., Jn.Am.Ir.H.S., IX.
 - 38. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1706-8, p.195.
 - 39. Sir Thomas Laurence to the Council of Trade and Plantations, 25 Oct. 1703, Cal.S.P. 1702-3, p.769.
 - 40. Rowland, op.cit., I, 1-6.
 - 41. Proceedings and Acts 1700-4; Maryland Archives, pp.340-1.

Queen Anne, after receiving a petition from the Roman Catholics of Maryland. This petition had been signed by, among others, Charles Carroll and his brother James.⁽⁴²⁾ Nevertheless, public worship by Catholics in Maryland was still forbidden. As a result, the practice grew of incorporating chapels within the grounds or dwellings of Roman Catholic landowners which served the neighbourhood. One of the first of these so-called private chapels was on the Carroll estate, Doughoregan Manor.⁽⁴³⁾ There were also more priests, mostly Jesuits, in Maryland than in any other colony.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The demand for white servants in Maryland continued to be met largely by Irish immigrants, now including convicts. The duties that were imposed on them did more to increase the revenue than check their numbers.

In 1713 the heir to the Barony of Baltimore, Co. Longford, like so many Irish landlords at that time, became a Protestant.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The Roman Catholics of Maryland were at first dismayed, but found that they could still count on the benevolence of the Proprietary family.⁽⁴⁶⁾ They were, on the whole, a quiet and loyal minority in the colony; George II, on the occasion of his accession in 1727, received an address of loyalty from them.⁽⁴⁷⁾

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42. Proceedings and Acts 1700-4, Maryland Archives, p.543; 1707-10, p.146.
 43. Ibid.; C. B. Clark, "John Seymour, Governor of Maryland, 1704-9", pp.134-159, Maryland Historical Magazine, XLVIII, 1953; J. G. Shea, The Catholic Church, pp.362-4.
 44. C.O.1/41, p.48, P.R.O., London; Cal.S.P.1704-5, p.264; 1726-7, p.243.
 45. Shea, op.cit., p.371.
 46. Ibid., pp.371-6.
 47. Ibid., p.378.

The Protestants of Maryland were not so easily placated. They only saw that Roman Catholics were rapidly increasing in strength. The activities of Jesuits and priests in the political field caused alarm, especially during the period of inter-imperial conflict between 1740 and 1763.⁽⁴⁸⁾ In fact, only a very small minority of Irish Catholics took part in treasonable activity, but they were all viewed with suspicion.⁽⁴⁹⁾ After 1763, however, when the colonies were secure from foreign attack, the campaign against Catholics in Maryland declined. During what remained of the colonial period the colony began to emerge as a true refuge for Irish Catholics. It is also significant that after the dissolution of the Jesuit Order in 1773 its members reorganised themselves under the title of "The Roman Catholic Gentlemen of Maryland".⁽⁵⁰⁾

During the early years of English rule beginning in 1667 the few Catholics in New York enjoyed toleration, especially during the administration of Thomas Dongan.⁽⁵¹⁾ Dongan, who has been described as "one of the very best of all the colonial governors", was a Roman Catholic of Irish birth.⁽⁵²⁾ In 1682, in return for his support of the Stuart cause, he was appointed Governor of New York by its Roman

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48. Correspondence of Sharpe (Maryland Archives), I, 240, 323, 353.
 49. Ibid., pp.502, 512, 518-21.
 50. Sister Blanche Marie, "The Catholic Church in Colonial Pennsylvania", Pennsylvania History, III, 258; Jesuits had been associated with Maryland since its foundation.
 51. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., The Documentary History of the State of New York, Vol.I, pp.161-86.
 52. H. L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the seventeenth Century, II, 131.

Catholic proprietor, James, Duke of York.⁽⁵³⁾ In 1685 Dongan was planning to promote emigration from Ireland and made enquiries about a ship of 70 to 80 tons "designed to run constantly between this and Ireland and bring passengers hither".⁽⁵⁴⁾ Before Dongan could achieve much in this respect, he fell from power in the Protestant Revolution and was one of the victims of a fanatical anti-Catholic campaign that occurred in New York after 1689.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Although this died down Roman Catholics received no encouragement in the colony from then on.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The entry of priests was absolutely forbidden by an Act of 1700 and in 1741 a priest was hanged for entering New York.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Not until 1780 was public worship by Roman Catholics permitted in the province of New York.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The Catholic Irish servants who arrived there after 1689 had to do without the solace of their religion. Nevertheless, Irish sentiment and numbers were, here too, strong enough to enable St. Patrick's Day to be celebrated in a worthy manner in 1763.⁽⁵⁹⁾ and it is unlikely that all those taking part were Scotch-Irish!

In North and South Carolina, where Irish servants were also numerous, there were virtually no provisions for Roman Catholic

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53. Diet. Am. Biog.; Cal. S.P. (A. & W.I.) 1681-5, pp. 305, 367.
 54. Governor Dongan to Sir John Werden, New York, 18 Feb. 1685,
Cal. S.P. (A. & W.I.) 1685-8, p. 4.
 55. Diet. Am. Biog.
 56. R. J. Purcell, "Irish cultural contribution in early New York",
C.E.R., pp. 449-50.
 57. J. Fiske, The Dutch and Quaker Colonies, II, 289; T'D'A. McGee,
A history of the Irish settlers in North America, Boston, 1852,
 p. 74, on political grounds.
 58. S. H. Sutherland, Population distribution in colonial America,
 New York, 1936, p. 60.
 59. Morison, American People, p. 176.

worship.⁽⁶⁰⁾ The South Carolina assembly had, in the early years of the eighteenth century, attempted to deter the immigration of Roman Catholics and native Irish, but the legislation was disallowed by the Lords Proprietors who regarded it as an encroachment upon their rights and property.⁽⁶¹⁾ In North Carolina there appears to have been a more tolerant attitude to Roman Catholics, but, except for the possibility of one church at Bathtown,⁽⁶²⁾ there was little sign of religious organisation for them. A similar situation prevailed in Georgia.⁽⁶³⁾

In Pennsylvania, from its very foundation in 1682, a greater degree of toleration for Roman Catholics prevailed than was to be experienced in any other part of the empire.⁽⁶⁴⁾ When the penal legislation of 1704 was passed in Maryland it was into Pennsylvania that many Roman Catholics fled.⁽⁶⁵⁾ There they suffered little interference with their religious observance, except in the matter of public mass. This was forbidden by Penn on orders from the imperial government in 1707.⁽⁶⁶⁾ Roman Catholics in the colony were advised to be cautious and public mass was not heard of again until 1729, when Joseph Greateon, a Jesuit priest, took up his residence in Philadelphia.⁽⁶⁷⁾

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- 60. Shea, The Catholic Church, I, p.396.
 - 61. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1717-18, p.322.
 - 62. J. Brickell, Natural History of North Carolina, Dublin, 1737, pp.35-6.
 - 63. Shea, op.cit., p.396.
 - 64. Diet.Am.Hist., VI, pp.252-6; Geiser, "Indentured Servants", p.16.
 - 65. Shea, op.cit., pp.365-6.
 - 66. McGee, op.cit., pp.24, 74.
 - 67. Keith, Chronicles of Pennsylvania, II, 754.

He built what is thought to have been the first Roman Catholic church in Pennsylvania, St. Joseph's in Walnut Street.⁽⁶⁸⁾ A few years later a stone church was built at Lancaster.⁽⁶⁹⁾ These events occurred at the time when the Pennsylvania assembly was trying to restrict the immigration of Irish servants, although not entirely on religious grounds.

During the period 1740 to 1763, however, as in Maryland, distrust of Irish Catholics in Pennsylvania became acute. Several restrictive measures were introduced, including the disarming of Roman Catholics and their exclusion from the Provincial Militia.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Certainly many of the Irish immigrants were disaffected and some had been responsible for political disturbances. On the whole, however, Irish Catholics fared comparatively well in Pennsylvania. Miss Elizabeth McGawley, for example, and her party of servants had been "treated with such civility and respect as to be in a fair way to arrive at all the happiness that country can afford".⁽⁷¹⁾ Nevertheless, in Pennsylvania, Roman Catholics were known to have become Quakers in order "to get into places".⁽⁷²⁾

In Pennsylvania's neighbours, New Jersey and Delaware, white servants, so long as they were Christian, were encouraged and given

68. Keith, op.cit.

69. Ibid.

70. Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, Vol.VII, 1756-8, p.344; Archives of Pennsylvania, II, 114, 176, 228, 423, 646, 690, 694; III, 130, 132.

71. Dublin Intelligence, 16 June 1730.

72. M. J. O'Brien, A hidden phase of American history, New York, 1919, p.254.

land on the expiration of their servitude.⁽⁷³⁾ Here were many Irish Catholics, but opportunities for attending churches of their faith were few.⁽⁷⁴⁾ In this colony, as in most of the others, there was a wide gap between a grudging measure of toleration and the possibility of Roman Catholics forming strong and fully practising communities. At the outbreak of the American Revolution there were only fifty Roman Catholic churches in the thirteen colonies.⁽⁷⁵⁾

These were the circumstances that confronted the Catholic Irish in colonial America. They encountered very little actual persecution, but they were generally distrusted and despised. Their religion was everywhere denounced; only in a few places did they have the chance of belonging to a church of their own faith. The dearth of priests and churches did much to ensure that they remained an isolated and unorganised minority in most areas. Of all the Roman Catholics who entered the colonies there must have been many who lapsed or converted to Protestantism. In 1784 the number of practising Catholics in the United States was estimated at 24,000, the great majority of whom were in Maryland and Pennsylvania.⁽⁷⁶⁾ This figure bears little relevance to the numbers of Catholics who had come from Ireland alone during the colonial period.

Even Protestants, however, did not automatically find favour in the colonies, as the Scotch-Irish early discovered. One of the

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- 73. Geiser, "Indentured servants", p.11.
 - 74. Extracts from newspapers relating to New Jersey, II, 576.
 - 75. Barak & Lefler, Colonial America, p.398.
 - 76. W. W. Sweet, The story of religions in America, New York and London, 1930, p.293.

first probable references to them in America, made by an official in 1692, was contemptuous:

"Somerset County (Maryland), a place pestered by hundreds of Scotch and Irish families who have set up a linen factory ... " (77)

This sentiment does not necessarily represent the feelings of the people of Maryland who had, in fact, warmly welcomed these Protestant Dissenters from Ireland. (78)

In the eighteenth century the Scotch-Irish swept into the colonies with the same intrepid determination that had alarmed the Anglican establishment in Ireland. They certainly impressed the colonists by the rapidity with which they settled and set up their linen looms. (79) Even the New Englanders had to praise their skill in spinning and weaving. (80) Further south they usually made for the frontier regions, being encouraged to do so by the Pennsylvania government in particular. (81) They poured "like a freshet southwesterly through the valleys of the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies" (82) as though bent on conquering all America. Recognising no laws but "the laws of God" they squatted on lands to which they had no claim. (83)

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77. Edward Randolph to the Commissioners of Customs, James City, 27 June 1692, Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1689-92, p.659.
78. A. J. Shipman, Address, Jn.Am.Ir.H.S., Vol.XI.
79. Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1719-20, pp.76, 300, 357; 1720-1, pp.99, 130, 211, 418.
80. Lt.-Governor David Dunbar to the Council of T. & P., Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.) 1738, p.20.
81. James Logan, himself an Ulsterman, was behind this policy, Keith, Chronicles of Penn., Vol.II, p.606.
82. L. W. Bacon, A history of American Christianity, New York, 1900, p.146.
83. Hanna, Scotch-Irish, II, 63; T.S.12/1, P.R.O., London, *passim*.

They were quickly unpopular.

In New England, where they had expected a sympathetic welcome, they roused hostility which persisted for many years. To some extent this was due to religious differences between them and the Calvinists of New England.⁽⁸⁴⁾ They provided other causes for dislike, however. Their manners were considered crude; they were harsh, often rapacious and sometimes violent and so they, at first, made a bad impression on colonial America.⁽⁸⁵⁾ The Pennsylvania government thought it advisable to push them towards the frontier.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Here they upset the pacifist Quaker leaders by their ruthless treatment of the Indians whom they saw not only as heathen savages but as sinister allies of the French.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Their desire to participate in government brought them into conflict with many colonial oligarchies. It was they of whom James Logan, himself a Quaker who had come from Ulster in 1699, wrote in 1729:

"It looks as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither ... The common fear is, that if they continue to come, they will make themselves proprietors of the province." ⁽⁸⁸⁾

For their largest group of settlements, in the frontier belt contiguous with Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, the term "Mac-ocracy" was coined to denote "a banditti of low Scotch-Irish whose names generally begin with Mac ... " This "Mac-ocracy" was said to have the worst features of Theocracy.⁽⁸⁹⁾

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- 84. Hanna, Scotch-Irish, II, 20.
 - 85. Jones, Immigration, pp.45-9; Dunbar, The Paxton Papers; Lee Papers, III, 431.
 - 86. Keith, Chronicles of Penn., II, 606.
 - 87. Dunbar, ed., Paxton Papers, pp.185-204.
 - 88. Quoted in Geiser, "Indentured Servants", p.37.
 - 89. Lee Papers, III, 431, 457.

The Scotch-Irish were, on arrival, indignant at being identified with the native Irish with whom they had generally not associated in Ireland. Nor did they, at first, like the term Scotch-Irish, preferring to be known as Scots.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Nevertheless, very many of those who came to America in the eighteenth century had known no other country but Ireland. It must be noted that it was after places in Ireland that their colonial settlements were named.⁽⁹¹⁾ Their devotion to St. Patrick is perhaps less remarkable; they could claim him as one of themselves. In fact, before the end of the colonial era, they were as proud to accept the appellation Scotch-Irish as they were to adopt Ireland as their native land.⁽⁹²⁾

Unlike the native Irish, who, if Catholics, found little or no organised religion in the colonies, the Scotch-Irish who arrived after 1713 found the Presbyterian Church already a strong and inter-colonial body, thanks to the earlier efforts of some of their compatriots. Rev. Francis Makemie was the leader of the first American presbytery formed in Philadelphia in 1706.⁽⁹³⁾ There is no doubt that the Presbyterian church greatly facilitated the reception and absorption of the Scotch-Irish in eighteenth-century America.

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90. J. G. Leyburn, The Scotch-Irish, North Carolina, 1962, p.331; they petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts to call them Scots, Hanna, Scotch-Irish, II, 20; L. H. Gipson, The British Isles and the American Colonies, I, 229.
91. Many large scale maps of the colonial era show Irish place names, especially of Ulster, e.g. R. Howell's Map of Pennsylvania, 1792, Penn.Archives, 3, Appendix I-X.
92. Leyburn, op.cit., pp.327-334.
93. Dict.Am.Hist., VI, 252-6.

Their own contribution to Presbyterianism and to America belongs to the next chapter.

Although most of the Irish Quakers went to Pennsylvania there were Quaker settlements in most of the other colonies.⁽⁹⁴⁾ Quaker immigrants too did not always receive a warm welcome or have an easy transition in colonial America. Especially in those colonies which they themselves did not control they were often slandered, ridiculed and persecuted. In Massachusetts, where all dissenters were severely dealt with, they risked execution if they tried to enter government circles.⁽⁹⁵⁾ However, they magnanimously shared their own special refuge with other sects and even generously contributed to the building of a Roman Catholic church in Philadelphia.⁽⁹⁶⁾

Not until after 1763, however, did the ruling Quakers of Pennsylvania have reason to be grateful to the Scotch-Irish while their distrust of the native Irish declined. To the former they owed much for frontier defence and the final defeat of the French, while the latter had not handed them over to the enemy.⁽⁹⁷⁾ Although fierce political antagonism was to persist between Quakers and Scotch-Irish until the revolutionary years there were signs of harmony on a social level. In 1771 "The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick" was founded in Philadelphia. Membership was restricted to those descended from an

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94. W. Andrews, ed., Concise Dict. Am. Hist., New York and London, 1963, pp.781-2.
 95. C.O.1/41, P.R.O., London, p.64.
 96. Correspondence of Sharpe, I, 540 (Calvert to Sharpe).
 97. The Paxton Papers, ed. Dunbar; Keith, Chronicles of Penn., pp.606-7.

Irish parent in the first degree, natives of Ireland or descendants of former members.⁽⁹⁸⁾ There must have been no shortage of founder members for, by that time, Pennsylvania, in respect of its population, was the most Irish of all the mainland colonies.⁽⁹⁹⁾ Significantly, it was a Friendly Son of St. Patrick who, in Philadelphia on 8 July 1776, was the first person to read the Declaration of Independence in public. He was Colonel John Nixon, grandson of George and Susan who, with their initialled sea-chest, emigrated from Co. Wexford in the 1680's.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

98. Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, I, Philadelphia, 1877, pp.188-202.

99. A. J. Shipman, "The Irish chapter in American History", Jn.Am.Ir.H.S., XI.

100. ~~Irish~~ Penn.Mag., VIII, 352; I, 188-202.

CHAPTER X

THE OVERALL CONTRIBUTION OF EMIGRANTS FROM IRELAND TO COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY AMERICA

It is difficult to make an accurate assessment of the contribution made by emigrants from Ireland to the North American colonies for several reasons. There is, of course, a great lack of biographical and other material, not least about that indentured service which so many from Ireland experienced. The fact that immigrants from Ireland belonged to different ethnic and religious groups is not often disclosed in colonial and other records, while some of these even refrain from mentioning the country of origin.⁽¹⁾ There are indeed many references to "the Irish" - sweeping and sometimes unflattering statements or alarmist opinions about their disloyalty, which cannot always be taken at face value. These must be seen rather as expressions of Anglo-Saxon prejudice, Protestant bigotry or even official panic. As for many colonial chroniclers, they had known the native Irish since the early seventeenth century and so were ready to assume that all those who came from Ireland must be Roman Catholics - an assumption prevalent even today. In the eighteenth century, the arrival of large numbers of Protestants, including indented servants, evidently perplexed many people - and an increasing use of the terms "native Irish" and "Scotch-Irish" may have helped to clarify their confusion.⁽²⁾ Even so,

1. For example, T.S.12/1, P.R.O., London, is full of references to "squatters" without once indicating who they were or whence they had come.
2. These terms occur more frequently in newspapers of the later colonial period.

there remain too many statements concerning immigrants from Ireland that do not distinguish between religious and national groups. One group, therefore, has been invested with another's faults or credited with its achievements. The following quotation will serve to illustrate the problems inherent in assessing sources. It is an extract from a letter written in Charlestown, South Carolina, in 1773, referring to a large number of recent arrivals from Ireland:

"The Irish are considered as welcome Guests as they are generally industrious, and in this low and marshy Country have a Value in being what others deride them for - Beg Trotters." (3)

Historians, too, have not always been able to avoid bias in dealing with the subject and lacking adequate information have sometimes tended to make extravagant claims for the group they happen to favour. Most of the controversy revolves round the respective achievements of the native Irish and the Scotch-Irish who together formed the great majority of immigrants from Ireland.

Most of the former and many of the latter entered the colonies as indentured servants. One historian, describing the colonies as "a severe testing ground for men", has estimated that only eight per cent of emancipated servants achieved a relatively stable position in the colonies in the seventeenth century.⁽⁴⁾ If, in the eighteenth century, it was a higher percentage, it still does not indicate much for the achievements of immigrants from Ireland - that is, if stability of position is taken as the yardstick.

3. B.M.Add.22677, f.73, Letter from Charlestown, 23 Jan. 1773.
4. A. E. Smith, "The indentured servant and land speculation in seventeenth-century Maryland", A.H.R., XL, 467-72.

It is wise perhaps to turn first to the writings of a settler of French origin, an acute and fair observer of the American scene in 1782, who had, moreover, no inherent prejudice against the Irish. He had formed the opinion that:

"Out of 12 families of emigrants of each country, generally 7 Scotch will succeed, 9 German and 4 Irish". (5)

He went on to elucidate:

"The Irish do not prosper so well; they love to drink and to quarrel; they are litigious, and soon take to the gun, which is the ruin of everything; they seem beside to labour under a greater degree of ignorance in husbandry than the others; perhaps it is their industry had less scope, and was less exercised at home ... The Irish themselves, from different parts of that Kingdom, are very different. It is difficult to account for this surprising locality; one would think on so small an island an Irishman must be an Irishman; yet it is not so, they are different in their aptitude to, and in their love of, labour." (6)

Another writer observed that "An Englishman can do but one thing, and an Irishman, but too frequently, can do nothing."⁽⁷⁾ These statements do at least indicate that many immigrants from Ireland were unskilled.

The industry of the Irish labourer has become proverbial; and there was of necessity a great deal of manual work to be done in the colonies. Labourers seldom became rich or eminent, but each vital annual harvest, for example, owed much to them, while some of their

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5. J. Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, Letters from an American Farmer, London, 1782, pp.78-9.
 6. Ibid.
 7. Quoted by McCormac, White Servitude in Maryland, p.77.

work can be seen even at the present day in those structures, still proudly maintained, that date from colonial times.

Not perhaps until after his release from indentured service did the unskilled labourer find himself at a disadvantage. There were not many opportunities open to him if all he had to offer was the labour of his hands. He could become an itinerant wage labourer, walking long distances to offer his services where extra help was required.⁽⁸⁾ This provided a precarious existence, for, as a rule, an employer could rely on his own indented servants. The migration of "poor whites" from Virginia to other colonies in the late seventeenth century was thought to have included Irish ex-servants and was one of the first examples of this kind of movement in America.⁽⁹⁾

The ex-servant could, despite the fact that he might be a Catholic, join the provincial militias. In most colonies the pay was so poor that recruiting officers were thankful to accept anyone who offered himself, fitness and religion notwithstanding.⁽¹⁰⁾ The muster rolls and other military lists that were compiled in the mid-eighteenth century certainly reveal that a high proportion of the Irish-born recruits were labourers. The muster rolls of Pennsylvania, for example, show that on average about half of the Irishmen who were recruited in that colony were labourers. In one company raised there in 1746, in which 52 of the recruits were of Irish birth, 34 of them

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8. Jones, Immigration, p.34.
 9. Wertenbaker, Planters of Colonial Virginia, p.140; Morison, American People, pp.96-7.
 10. I. R. Christie, Crisis of Empire, London, 1966, p.33.

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were described as labourers.⁽¹¹⁾ In Captain John Haslet's Company, raised on 20 May 1759, one of the sergeants, both corporals, the drummer and 23 out of 27 privates of Irish birth were all labourers.⁽¹²⁾ The New York lists show a similar proportion of Irish labourers.⁽¹³⁾

Unable to find steady employment outside the militias, very many freed Irish servants migrated to the frontier regions, some of them to take up the 50-acre plots of land that had been assigned to them. Here indeed was the real "testing ground". In these untamed lands conditions were such as to prompt Berkeley's query:

"Whether in the wastes of America a man might not possess 20 miles square of land, and yet want his dinner or a coat to his back?"⁽¹⁴⁾

Those who arrived here lacking the skill, capital or initiative to create a garden out of the wilderness, if they did not lapse into a state of complete apathy, maintained themselves at a low and rough standard of living.⁽¹⁵⁾ Many lived by the gun and so contributed to colonial civilisation by keeping the Indian in check. Travellers frequently commented on the strangeness of the frontier regions and on the primitive and uncouth behaviour of its inhabitants.⁽¹⁶⁾

A number of these rugged individuals of the colonial "Wild West" indeed desired nothing else but the freedom and independence which they could enjoy only in a region like this. There are

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11. Penn. Archives, 2nd series, II, 422-5.
 12. Penn. Archives, 5th series, I, 285-6.
 13. Master Rolls 1755-64, New York Historical Society, 1892.
 14. G. Berkeley, Querist, 1829, edition, p.37.
 15. Wertenbaker, *op.cit.*, p.44.
 16. Dict.Am.Hist., II, 350.

indications that here, as in Newfoundland and in the West Indies,⁽¹⁷⁾ there were easy-going communities of native Irish people, but because they lacked church affiliation or any other organisation they have left few tangible records of themselves.⁽¹⁸⁾ After 1714, moreover, the frontier zone contained not only the failures and the wilder spirits of colonial society, but also new waves of immigration in which the forceful Scotch-Irish were dominant. Their well-documented history as frontiersmen obscures that of the native Irish.

Immigrants from Ireland who had skills and some education, however limited, usually fared better after servitude. The many weavers, brick-layers, coopers, shoe-makers, tailors and other artisans might have been expected to find employment easily; the colonies had a great and continuing need for all skilled tradesmen. Plenty of these too joined the militias⁽¹⁹⁾ which, considering the low pay, was probably not on account of zeal for military service. Recruiting officers were in the habit of enlisting indentured servants who themselves were glad of a chance to escape from bondage.⁽²⁰⁾

Those with no trade, but who could read and write and also talk impressively, found that they could pass for schoolmasters thereby, in the first instance, escaping the usual rigours of indentured service.⁽²¹⁾

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17. R. Pares, "Merchants and Planters", Economic History Review Supplement, Cambridge, 1960, p.15.
 18. Dict. Am. Hist., IV, 144, 445; Sweet, Religions, p.7; Nettels, American Civilisation, p.388.
 19. Colonial muster rolls.
 20. Smith, Colonists in Bondage, pp.278-83; Minutes of the Provincial Council of Penn., VII, 40, 45, 179.
 21. John Harrower was of limited education, but served his time as a tutor, Riley, Harrower.

In 1773 the preacher, Jonathan Boucher, stated that two-thirds of Maryland's schoolmasters were indented servants or convicts who were serving out a term of penal servitude.⁽²²⁾ Some of these, as in other colonies, were known to be Irish. A few of them who gained publicity by running away were colourfully described: John Jones, "a smooth tongued palavering fellow";⁽²³⁾ James Murphy, "a very proud fellow, loves drink and when drunk is very impudent and talkative, pretends much and knows little";⁽²⁴⁾ William Delany, "fond of speaking much in his own praise, particularly his great abilities in school-keeping".⁽²⁵⁾

A man's stated occupation was, of course, no guide to his industry or character, but, in the colonies, much also depended upon what religion he professed. In that age when Roman Catholicism was proscribed by the imperial government, even Catholics who lacked neither wealth nor education found it very difficult to escape from a position of inferiority anywhere in the empire. In their supposed refuge, Maryland, where there was a Roman Catholic aristocracy headed by the Calvert family, Catholics converted to Protestantism in order to advance their careers or hold office. The conversion of one of the Calverts has already been mentioned. Thomas Mollamara, who was Clerk of Maryland's Lower House of Assembly in the early eighteenth century, was originally a Roman Catholic who is thought to have come

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- 22. McCormac, op.cit., p.76.
 - 23. Penn.Gazette, 27 Jan. 1757.
 - 24. Newspaper Extracts, New Jersey, III, 369.
 - 25. Ibid., X, 522-3.

from Galway. (26) He, however, had found it expedient to convert to Protestantism. (27) The barrister, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a grandson of that Charles Carroll who emigrated in 1688 and one of Maryland's signatories of the Declaration of Independence, had, in fact, been prevented by his religion from holding office in Maryland until the Revolutionary years. (28) This family also provided the United States with its first Roman Catholic bishop. (29)

It was the structure of Maryland society which encouraged and necessitated the rise of the legal profession. (30) The development of lawyer-leadership in Maryland was significant in the pre-revolutionary era. (31) Daniel Dulany, another eminent jurist who was a native of Ireland, has already been mentioned. He had the additional advantage of being a Protestant of the established church. (32) As Attorney-General of Maryland he was a great upholder of English law and statutes. (33) His even more famous son, Daniel Junior, who was born in Maryland in 1722, also became a lawyer. He is credited with elucidating the principle of "No taxation without representation", but when the Revolution came he remained a loyalist. (34) The legal contention between him, the son of an Irish emigrant, and Charles

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26. B. C. Steiner, "Irish Statesmen in Maryland", Jn. Am. Ir. H. S., Vol. XIV.
27. Owings, His Lordship's Patronage, p. 138.
28. Diet. Am. Biog.; Rowland, Carroll, I, 132, 145.
29. C. A. Barker, "Maryland before the Revolution", A. H. R., XLVI, 3.
30. Barker, op. cit., p. 4.
31. Ibid., p. 10.
32. Owings, op. cit., p. 131.
33. Diet. Am. Biog.; Diet. Nat. Biog.
34. Ibid.

Carroll of Carrollton, the grandson of another, fought under pseudonyms in the pages of the Maryland Gazette just before the American Revolution, is a well-known episode in Maryland history. (35)

"That great race who have given to the United States whiskey, the Presbyterian Church and independence of Great Britain" is one admiring estimate of the Scotch-Irish. (36) Their achievements have, perhaps, received more than their due, but it is generally recognised that they were out of all proportion to their numbers. (37) There is little doubt that in character they were suited to colonial America; they made steady pioneers and vigorous frontiersmen. They arrived in the colonies, moreover, with very decided advantages over most of the native Irish.

They came to America mostly in family groups, many of them in response to various colonial landgrants that were made to Protestant families. In one oft-quoted instance part of a Presbyterian congregation, including some elderly people, accompanied their minister to America. (38) Yet another group of families arrived already provided with its own minister and schoolmaster. (39) The Scotch-Irish usually

35. Dict. Nat. Biog.

36. Keith, Chronicles of Penn., p. 596.

37. At the time of the American Revolution, people of Scottish birth or descent formed about seven per cent of the colonial population, A. Maisel, "The Scottish-Americans", Readers' Digest publication, c. 1950; in Dict. Am. Hist., V, 45, it is stated that in 1790 7% of the total population of the United States, i.e. 225,000 people, were Scotch-Irish or of that extraction.

38. That of Aghadowey, Co. Londonderry, under Rev. James McGregor, Dickson, Ulster emigration, pp. 21-6.

39. Cal. New York Colonial MSS., Land Papers 1643-1803, Albany, 1864, p. 317.

settled in communities; ⁽⁴⁰⁾ they seldom lacked leaders, unlike the native Irish, who, before leaving Ireland, had been systematically deprived of theirs, both secular and religious. Wherever they settled the Scotch-Irish raised their keystones of religion and education, and by thus forming closely knit ethnic enclaves were the better able to endure pioneer conditions and hostility where it occurred, while at the same time making an effective contribution to colonial America. ⁽⁴¹⁾

During the eighteenth century the Presbyterian Church in the colonies quickly gathered strength from the large immigration from Ireland. ⁽⁴²⁾ The democratic structure of this religion as well as its inter-colonial organisation cannot be without significance in the political developments that took place after 1763. ⁽⁴³⁾ That unifying religious fervour known as the "Great Awakening" which swept America in the mid-eighteenth century owed much to Irish-born Presbyterians such as William Tennent. ⁽⁴⁴⁾ He established Log College which became one of the feeders of Princeton University. ⁽⁴⁵⁾ For this Presbyterian foundation, Tennent's son, Gilbert, who had been born in Ireland, accompanied by Rev. Samuel Davis went on a fund-raising tour of Great Britain. ⁽⁴⁶⁾ The seal of the Scotch-Irish for religion and education,

40. Jones, Immigration, p.49.

41. E.A.Belcher and J.A.Williamson, Migration within the Empire, p.74; E. Wright, "Education in the American Colonies", Essays in Scotch-Irish History, ed.E.R.R.Green, London, 1969.

42. Slosser, op.cit., p.142.

43. T.H.Johnson, ed., The Oxford Companion to American History, New York, 1966, p.344, William Tennent was ordained in the Church of Ireland, but became a Presbyterian after arriving in Pennsylvania in 1718.

44. Ibid.

45. Ibid., pp.778-9; Keith, Chronicles, II, 597-8.

46. Dict.Am.Hist., VI, 236; T.S.12/1, P.R.O., London.

their skills in textile manufacture and their democratic spirit ensured that they made a notable contribution to the fabric of American society.

Whether they can also claim credit for American independence is more doubtful. Certainly both temperament and history made them likely opponents of imperial domination. They could also maintain a bitterly anti-English attitude while professing loyalty to the Crown.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Most of them appear to have taken the American side,⁽⁴⁸⁾ but independence is now considered to have been inevitable and would have come without the Scotch-Irish. Nevertheless, the part they played in overthrowing the conservative government of Pennsylvania in 1776 was of some significance in determining the course of events at a critical moment.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Their long experience as frontier warriors also made them a valuable military asset in the Revolutionary War.

The fighting qualities of both the native Irish and the Scotch-Irish were perhaps their most outstanding contribution to colonial and revolutionary America. Many of the former reached the American continent in the armed forces of foreign powers and some of them deserted and made their way into the British colonies rather than return to Europe.⁽⁵⁰⁾ There is no doubt that, despite their religion, numerous Irish Catholics had joined the British forces both at home

47. Bacon, American Christianity, p.186.

48. Jones, Immigration, p.55.

49. T. W. Moody, "The Ulster Scots in Colonial and Revolutionary America", Studies, June 1945, pp.211-221.

50. James Oglethorpe to the Trustees for Georgia, 7 Oct. 1738, Cal.S.P.(A. & W.I.), 1738, p.223.

and in the colonies. After 1750, however, Roman Catholic Irishmen were officially admitted to the lower ranks of the British army.⁽⁵¹⁾ From then until the American Revolutionary War, therefore, large numbers of them were among the contingents of troops that went to America. Since many of these were shipped from Cork the recruitment of Irishmen was facilitated.⁽⁵²⁾

The colonial muster rolls⁽⁵³⁾ for the wars with the French in the mid-eighteenth century are also an indication not only of how much the colonies owed to their Irish defenders, but of the amount of immigration that was taking place from Ireland. In these lists the country of birth, occasionally also the county or town, is usually included along with other particulars. In Pennsylvania, for example, of 100 recruits for a company commanded by Captain John Shannon in 1746, 50 had been born in Ireland.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Of 111 recruits for Samuel Perry's company in the same year 62 were of Irish birth.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Captain Trent, also in 1746, returned a list of 116 men of whom 52 had been born in Ireland.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Of 53 men enlisted by Captain John Singleton in May 1758, 50 had been born in Ireland⁽⁵⁷⁾ and of another 53 joining Captain John

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51. Curtis, Ireland, p.309; the Earl of Halifax writing to the Earl of Egremont in February 1762 considered that the Irish Catholics were no longer devoted to the Stuart cause, Cal.H.O.Papers 1760-5, pp.154-5.
52. Ibid., p.544, one of many references.
53. Muster rolls of Pennsylvania and New York in particular.
54. Penn. Archives, 2nd series, II, 425-7 and 5th series, I, 11-14.
55. Ibid., 5th series, I, 14-16.
56. Ibid., 2nd series, II, 422-5.
57. Ibid., 5th series, I, 145-7.

Haslet's company 32 had been born in Ireland.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The New York muster rolls reveal a similar proportion of Irish-born recruits.

While a great many of these men were of Ulster origin there were also individuals from other parts of Ireland. Among their surnames there is indeed a profusion of Mc's and other Scottish patronymics not all of which belonged to Ulstermen. In addition to these is a plentiful selection of what are regarded as native Irish names such as O'Neale, O'Donelly, Flannigan, Sullivan, Dermott, Donohue, Shea, Kelly, etc.

Another indication of the large proportion of Irishmen in both the British and colonial forces is in the numbers of deserters. Whether the Catholic Irish had a greater tendency to desert is something that cannot be proved without more exact information. The recruitment of Roman Catholics, especially if they were Irish, was, at this time, discouraged and even forbidden in some of the colonies.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Nevertheless, the determination of Irishmen to enlist, for one reason or another, even if it meant denying their religion, together with the difficulty experienced by officers in filling up their ranks would account for there being numerous Catholic Irish in the colonial levies.

58. Penn.Archives, 5th series, I, 148-9. The proportion of Irish recruits depended, of course, on the locality where the company was raised; in some parts of Pennsylvania for example, most of the recruits might be of German birth or, as in some districts of New York, of Dutch origin.

59. Penn.Archives, 2nd series, II, 594.

When the American Revolutionary War began in 1775 the rebel colonists fully expected an insurrection in their support in Ireland as well as in England. ⁽⁶⁰⁾ So many and close were the ties between Ireland and America by that time that the Lord-Lieutenant genuinely feared a rising among the Presbyterians of Ulster "who", he wrote, "in their hearts are Americans". ⁽⁶¹⁾ There were also at this time reports of American agents collecting both men and arms throughout Ireland. ⁽⁶²⁾ The Lord-Lieutenant also suspected that, in vessels then leaving Cork and Limerick, were numbers of young men, supposedly indentured servants, who were in reality recruits for the rebel army. ⁽⁶³⁾ Whether or not it was their intention to take up arms as soon as they landed this is probably what they were compelled to do in the situation. They would then find themselves fighting both alongside and against their fellow countrymen - perhaps another reason for heavy desertions. In April 1776 Captain Joseph Hubley of the 3rd Battalion of the Pennsylvania Troops, then in the service of the United Colonies, reported 10 deserters from his company; 6 of them were Irish. ⁽⁶⁴⁾

Whatever significance may be attached to the desertion rate - and in the British forces the penalty for desertion could be a thousand lashes ⁽⁶⁵⁾ - both the military and the naval forces of the

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60. Lords of the Admiralty to Dartmouth, Oct. 1775, Cal.H.O.Papers 1773-5, pp.425-6.
 61. Lord-Lt. to Lord Rochford, 11 Oct. 1775, *ibid.*, p.426.
 62. Cal.H.O.Papers, 1773-5, several references.
 63. *Ibid.*, p.398.
 64. Pennsylvania Gazette, 10 Apr. 1776.
 65. In General Howe's army during the Revolutionary War deserters might receive 500 or 1,000 lashes; for deserting to the rebel army the punishment was death, Kemble Papers, New York Historical Society, 1884, I, *passim*.

American Revolution drew much of their man-power from Irish immigrants. One contemporary estimate was that about half of the American rebel army was of Irish birth.⁽⁶⁶⁾ The long lists of Irish and Scottish names in the Revolutionary archives⁽⁶⁷⁾ are not in themselves conclusive evidence, but wherever more detailed information occurs the claim becomes more convincing. In the roll of Samuel Hay's company in 1776, for example, very few birthplaces are stated, only those of two sergeants and six privates. Both sergeants and five of the privates were of Irish birth; the eighth man was of colonial birth.⁽⁶⁸⁾

"The rebels are chiefly composed of Irish Redemptioners and Convicts, the most audacious rascals existing". So one British officer saw the American side.⁽⁶⁹⁾ His scorn was matched by a colonial observation: "The British regiments composed of the most debauched weavers prentices, the scum of the Irish Roman Catholics who desert upon every occasion".⁽⁷⁰⁾ Such statements illustrate but only how heavily each side in the American War of Independence relied on Irish troops. How far the Irish-born helped to win - or lose - the war is, therefore, an interesting question. Certainly, for any short-comings the Irish were the first to be blamed. "The men are

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66. Hanna, Scotch-Irish, II, 156.
 67. Muster rolls of the Pennsylvania Navy 1776-9, Penn.Archives, 3, Vol.23, pp.3-192; Rangers on the Frontiers, ibid., pp.195-356; Soldiers of the Revolution, Penn.Archives, 5, Vol.4, pp.599-777; Ships' Registers and Naval Lists, Penn.Archives, 5, Vol.1, pp.380-413; G. M. Brumbaugh, Revolutionary War Records, Virginia, 1967, Vol.I.
 68. Penn.Archives, 5, Vol.2, pp.204-8.
 69. Quoted from Diary of Joshua Fell, Jn.Am.Ir.H.S., Vol.XVII.
 70. Lee Papers, I, 161 (Strictures on a Pamphlet).

good, some Irish rascals excepted", reported Major-General Lee, Second in Command to Washington.⁽⁷¹⁾ The same commander, who claimed to know the Irish well, opined that the Irish recruits had "much contaminated the troops".⁽⁷²⁾

In the outcome those who fell in battle on the American side received the highest encomiums. The survivors, together with so many others of Irish birth and descent, became the first citizens of the United States, not all of them willingly.⁽⁷³⁾ Left outside the boundaries of the new republic were numerous other people who stemmed from that seventeenth and eighteenth century diaspora; their descendants may be traced at the present day in eastern Canada and in the Caribbean.

71. General Lee to Washington, Williamsburgh, 10 May 1776, Lee Papers, II, 19.

72. Ibid., pp. 35, 38 (Lee to Pendleton).

73. There were Irishmen, Catholics included, in Sir Henry Clinton's Loyalist regiment and the Scotch-Irish were not all on the American side, Jones, Immigration, pp. 54-7; the Roman Catholic Volunteers of Pennsylvania fought under General Howe, Kemble Papers, I, 582.

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APPENDIX A : Indentured Servants

I A list of servants who indented with Captain Bedlington to go on board the "Britannia" to Williamsburgh, Virginia, published in Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 18 - 21 Mar. 1748/9:

Mary Mooney, 16, spinster, Dublin.
 John Clemmons, 16, Gentleman's servant, Dublin
 John Butler, 24, Taylor, Clonmell, Co. Tipperary
 John Griffin, 30, Labourer, Co. Cork
 John Meriss, 19, Glasier, Dublin
 Ann Pearl, 17, Spinster, Dublin
 Alex. Bonnell, 18, Gent. servant, Cork
 Robert Crython, 23, Linen Weaver, Dublin
 Patrick Moore, 19, Dyer, Dublin
 Barnaby Barns, 24, Locksmith, Dublin
 Stephen Testro, 32, House Carpenter, Co. Cork
 George Berein, 20, Gent. Servant, Dublin

Second list for the same voyage published in F.D.J.,
 21 - 25 Mar. 1749:

Barnaby Barn, 24, Smith, Dublin
 William Magennis, 40, Planter, Dublin
 James Cammack, 18, Yeoman, Dublin

Rosamond McNolty, 17, Spinster, Dublin

John May, 16, Glass Grinder, Dublin

Morress Griffin, 30, Yeoman, Co. Cork

John Brittan, 24, Taylor, Clonmell

John Coulthon, 18, Shoemaker, Dublin

NOTE: In these two lists Barnaby Barn/s and probably also John/Morress Griffin and John Butler/Brittan are the same people. Captain Bedlington is recorded as having arrived in Virginia in June 1749 with 34 "convicts or passengers", C.O.5/1445, P.R.O., London.

II A list of persons wishing to indent for the voyage on the "Peggy" for Philadelphia, published in Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 6 - 9 May 1749 :

James Doran, born in Co. Down

Richard Corbet, born in King's County

Nicholas Cragan, born in Co. Meath

Anne German, born in Dublin

Jane Carey, born in Dublin

Johanna Moore, born in Co. Cork

NOTE: When these appeared before the Lord Mayor of Dublin anyone who objected to their departure was to be present.

III Official notice published in F.D.J., 8 - 11 Sept. 1750:

By the Right Hon. Sir Samuel Cooke, Bart., Lord Mayor
of the City of Dublin.

Whereas I have received Information that several
Masters of Ships now in this Harbour, make it their
practice to force Persons (particularly those of tender
Years) on board their ships, without their consent,
and without being examined and bound before me, on
Pretence of bringing such Persons as free Servants
to America, this is to acquaint the public, that the
following Persons and no other, are indented before me,
and if any have any objection thereto, they shall be
prevented from going abroad, viz.:

Mary Smith	Mary Jessop	John McNally
Ann Dungan	Tracey Cheevers	John Graham
Elinor Dalton	Mary Reilly	Ann Billinskin
Mary Boswell	Charles Power	Alice Stepney
Rose Crofton	Barth. Maguire	Abigail Playsted
Margaret Moran		

Dated this 24th. Aug. 1750 Sam Cooke.

N.B. James Dunmore, late soldier of Brigadier Richhell's
Regiment, and William Nicholl, late soldier of
General Wynyard's Regiment, have offered to indent,
of which all Persons are desired to take notice.

The following persons are indented, viz.:

Names	Occupations	Merchant
James Rigbey	Hosier	Robinson
Patrick Cosgrave	Yeoman	"
Thomas Burfield	Bookbinder	"
Thomas Keightley	Gardener	"
George Forrist	Taylor	"
Barth. Fagan	"	"
Thomas Chesterton	Shoemaker	"
Abigail Playsted	Spinster	Ash
Sarah Langley	"	Robinson
Margaret Burk	"	"
Isabella Collagon	"	"
John Muckelvoin	Yeoman	"

APPENDIX A continued.

Photocopy I : Abstract of Irish servant's indenture, printed in Virginia Colonial Abstracts, collected and edited by Beverley Fleet, published by the Genealogical Publishing Co., Baltimore, 1961, vol. 17, Richmond Co. Records, p. 18.

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Misc. Records.

18

p.38-A Indenture. 19 Oct. 1705. "betweene Thomas Smith of Biddesford in the County of Devon in the Kingdom of England merchant of the one part and Patrick Jern of the Roar (or Rear ?) in the County of Kilkenny and Kingdom of Ireland of the other part Witnesseth that the said Patrick Jern of his own free and Voluntary will hath bound placed and putt himselfe apprentice unto the said Thomas Smith", according to the custom in Maryland, etc.

Wit:
Charles Hughes
Will: Wolleson

his
signed Patrick x Jern
mark

Rec. 26 April 1706

The within Indenture was presented before me this day as witness my hand and seale of the town of New Rosse this 9th day of november an'o Dom 1705

Sam'l Pitt Sec'r
of New Rosse

APPENDIX A continued.

Photocopy 2 : Notice concerning runaway Irish servant, printed in Extracts from Newspapers, vol. VII, (New Jersey Colonial Documents, vol. XXVI), Paterson, 1904, p. 480.

RUN-AWAY from the subscriber, living in Trenton, West-Jersey, July 23, 1769, an Irish servant lad, named Michael Brady, about 5 feet 3 inches high, and about 20 years of age, well set, thick legs, knock'd-knee'd, and speaks very quick, fair complexion, full fac'd, and large full grey eyes, short light curl'd hair; born in Dublin, has some of the Brogue, and speaks very hoarse; Had on, and took with him, when he went away, a yellowish brown, thickset fustian coat, green double-breasted cloth jacket, both much worn, with flat metal buttons on them, ozenbrigs shirt and trowsers, nankeen breeches, old thread stockings, old pumps with long quarters, very good hat, is a shoemaker by trade, and pretends to the snuff work. Whoever takes up and secures the said servant in any goal, so that his master may have him again, shall have Four Pounds reward, and all reasonable charges, paid by

WILLIAM TUCKER.

N. B. He is supposed to have a false pass, and also change his name and clothes, he being a crafty fellow.—
The New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, No. 928, August 7, 1769.

APPENDIX B : Transportation

A selection of offenders sentenced to transportation, collected from Irish newspapers of the eighteenth century.

A list of felons transported between 1735 and 1743 is to be found in the Irish Commons Journal, Vol. IV, Appendix, pp. CCXII - CCXXIII, but not the specific offences of which they were convicted.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Court</u>	<u>Offence</u>	<u>Sentence</u>	<u>Source</u>
- Burn	Wicklow Assizes	Stealing money & a waistcoat	Transportation	<u>Pues Occurrences</u> 1 May 1705
Arthur Cullen	Dublin Quarter Sessions	Horse stealing	Whipping & Transportation	<u>Pues Occurrences</u> 28 Feb. - 4 Mar. 1737/8
Francis Flood		Perjury	Whipping & Transportation	
Bartholomew Nailor	"	Murder	Execution commuted to transportation	<u>Dublin Courier</u> 2 - 4 Feb 1761
Anne Dolan	"	Street Robbery	Execution commuted to transportation for life	ibid., 9 - 11 Feb. 1761
Michael Cushen	Naas Assizes	Male practices	Transportation	6 - 8 Apr. 1761
Bridget Daly	Dublin Gr. Sessions	Stealing shoes Buckles & stockings	"	ibid., 24 - 27 July 1761

<u>Name</u>	<u>Court</u>	<u>Offence</u>	<u>Sentence</u>	<u>Source</u>
Hugh Kelly	Dublin Gr. Sessions	Robbery	Execution commuted to transportation	ibid., 16-19 Oct. 1761
Arthur Carty	Court of oyer & terminer	Stealing 3 silver tea spoons	Transportation	30 Oct. - 2 Nov. 1761
James Sheridan	Dublin Gr. Sessions	Stealing liquors	Transportation	21-23 Dec. 1761
Mary Murphy	"	Stealing clothing	"	<u>Dublin Mercury</u> 9-12 Aug. 1766
Edward Fulham	Dublin Tholsel	Pick- pocketing	"	23-26 Aug. 1766
Peter Caffry	Dublin Gr. Sessions	Stealing a pair of pumps	"	5-9 May 1767
William Magrath	"	Stealing corn	"	<u>Dublin Mercury</u> 5-9 May 1767
James Carthy	Kilkenny Assizes	Burglary	Execution commuted to transportation	ibid., 16-19 May 1767
James Dollee	Dublin	Rioting	Whipping commuted to transportation	ibid., 15-18 Aug. 1767
William Delary	Philipstown Assizes	Cov- stealing	Execution commuted to transportation	ibid., 29 Aug. - 1 Sept. 1767
John Buchanan	Limerick Assizes	Felony to value of 4/9	Transportation for 7 years	Dublin <u>Faulkner's Journal</u> 14-16 Apr. 1768

<u>Name</u>	<u>Court</u>	<u>Offence</u>	<u>Sentence</u>	<u>Source</u>
Richard Jordan	Dublin	Stealing a silver cup	Execution commuted to transportation	<u>Dublin Mercury</u> 30 Jan. - 2 Feb. 1768
Michael McKnight	Limerick Assizes	Stealing linen yarn	Transportation	15 - 17 Sept. 1768
Garret Bryan	Oyer and Terminer	Stealing trunk & other effects	Transportation for 7 years	ibid., 3 - 5 Nov. 1768
Nicholas Shortall	Kilkenny Assizes	Stealing 2/-	Transportation	ibid., 28-30 Mar. 1769
Anstace Henessey	"	Stealing 4 hats	"	ibid.
Richard Henessey	Limerick Assizes	Assault	"	" 15-18 Apr. 1769
John Bourke	Cork Assizes	Horse stealing	"	31 Aug. - 2 Sept. 1769
Darby Leary	"	Robbery	"	ibid.
John Crawly	"	Stealing a hide & 3 sides of leather	"	" 21-23 Sept. 1769
Patrick Reilly	Oyer & Terminer	Stealing a piece of linen	"	9 - 11 Nov. 1769
Margaret Sweeny	"	Stealing wine, clothing etc.	"	ibid.
John Henry	Maryborough Assizes	Sheep-stealing	Execution commuted to transportation	" 16-18 Aug. 1770

<u>Name</u>	<u>Court</u>	<u>Offence</u>	<u>Sentence</u>	<u>Source</u>
Anne Chambers	Wexford Assizes	Stealing linen	Transportation	<u>Dublin Mercury</u> 7-10 Sept. 1771
Thomas Clare	Dublin Gr. Sessions	Receiving stolen goods	"	ibid., 10-12 Dec. 1771
Anthony Wall James Long Honora Crawley	} Oyer and Terminer	Stealing 8 cwt. lead Receiving same	" " "	} ibid., 4-6 Mar. 1773
Cornelius Linahan	Kilkenny Assizes	Stealing clothing	"	<u>Saunders News</u> <u>Letter</u> 5-7 Apr. 1773
Winifred Carrol	"	Stealing 5 yds linen	"	ibid.
Catherine Ronan	"	Stealing beef	"	ibid.
James Dempsey John Rose	} Oyer & Terminer	Conspiring to murder & perjury "	Pillory & Transportation for 7 years	14-16 July 1773 "
Patrick Neal John Hayes	} Kilkenny Assizes	Horse Stealing	Transportation	ibid., 20-22 Sept. 1773
John Kenny	Cork Assizes	Stealing 2/- goods	Transportation	<u>Walker's</u>
John Mandesley	"	Polygamy	for 7 years	<u>Hibernian</u>
Daniel Fenn	"	Stealing 4/11 "	"	<u>Magazine</u> ,
John Bryan	"	" lead	"	Dublin 1774
John Bush	"	" 4/11 "	"	p. 300
Mary Donnagins	"	" a silk cloak	"	"

APPENDIX C : Emigrant Shipping

Table of departures of emigrant ships from Irish ports from 1681 to 1775 inclusive, excepting Ulster ports after 1717.

NOTE: The table is by no means complete and is only as accurate as the sources from which it has been compiled, while some of these are at variance with one another.

Abbreviations: a.w. - arrived with; s.w. - sailed with;

t. - tons; F.D.J. - Faulkner's Dublin Journal;

D.M. - Dublin Mercury; D.G. - Dublin Gazette; D.C. - Dublin Courant;

D.I. - Dublin Intelligence; D.W.J. - Dublin Weekly Journal;

P.O. - Pue's Occurrences; D.E.P. - Dublin Evening Post;

P.G. - Pennsylvania Gazette; D.D.P. - Dublin Daily Post;

D.N.L. - Dublin News Letter; B.E.P. - Boston Evening Post;

M.J. - Munster Journal; C.E.P. - Cork Evening Post;

M.G. - Massachusetts Gazette.

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & sources
Sept. 1681	Owner's Adventure)	Dublin	West New Jersey	Dagger	Chartered & financed by Sharp & Turner, Grubb, Quakers, 46 - 8. Balderston, Claypoole, 52
1682	Amity	Waterford or Dublin	Pennsylvania	Diamond	a.w. Thos. Holme & family, Myers, <u>Narratives</u> , 242.
	Antelope	(Ireland)	Philadelphia		a.w. Jas. Atkinson, etc., Penn. Mag. VIII, 329.

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & sources
1683	Lion of) Liverpool)	Dublin	Philadelphia	Crompton	a.w. Robt. Turner, family, 17 servants, friends, etc. Myers, <u>Narratives</u> , 273; Balderston, <u>Claypoole</u> , 201.
1685	Bristol) Merchant)	(Ireland)	"		S.W. Jasper Farmer, family of 14 & 19 servants, <u>ibid.</u> , 232-3.
1699	Hopewell	Dublin	Barbados & Virginia	Leggat	100t., a.w. 26 servants in Virginia, <u>C.O. 5/1441</u> .
	North Foreland of Ranegate	"	Virginia	Tickner	150t., A.W. 64 passengers, <u>ibid.</u>
	William Loyalty	Belfast "	" "	Boyd Murray	100t., a.w. 30 servants, <u>ibid.</u> 60t., a.w. 45 servants, <u>ibid.</u>
	Jane	Dublin	"	Thorntown	100t., a.w. servants & provisions, <u>ibid.</u>
	Two Brothers	(Ireland)	Boston	Mordock	a.w. 21 servants for Virginia, <u>C.O. 5/848</u>
1700	Oliver	Waterford	Virginia	Atchison	150 t., a.w. servants, <u>C.O. 5/1441</u>
	Prize of) Harwich)	"	"	Jackson	150 t., a.w. servants, <u>ibid.</u>
Mar. 1700/1	Jane	Dublin	"	Thornton	a.w. provisions & servants, <u>ibid.</u>
	Loyalty	Belfast & Liverpool	"	Toby	a.w. servants, <u>ibid.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & sources
Apr.1701	William	Belfast	Barbados & Virginia	Robinson	a.w.servants, <i>ibid.</i>
Mar.1701/2	Charles	Belfast	Virginia	Lovott	200 t. a.w.servants & provisions, <i>ibid.</i>
May 1702	Virginia) Merchant)	Liverpool & Ireland	Virginia	Woodward	120 t., a.w.servants, <i>ibid.</i>
Mar.1702	Potomack) Factor)	Limerick	"	Waldron	75 t., a.w.servants & provisions, <i>ibid.</i>
Apr.1702	Friendship	"	"	Dowell	200 t., a.w. provisions & servants, <i>ibid.</i>
May 1702	Trial of) Bristol)	Cork	"	Chaplyn	70t., a.w. provisions & servants, <i>ibid.</i>
Nov.1703	Lawrell	Belfast & Liverpool	Newfoundland & Virginia	Haven	100 t., a.w. in Virginia servants, fish & European goods, <i>ibid.</i>
Nov.1711	Brown Galley) of Bristol)	Cork	Pennsylvania		s.w. passengers, D.C.
Sept.1714	York Merchant	"	Boston	Beach	a.w. servants, Bolton, <u>Scotch-Irish</u> , Appendix I.
May 1716	Truth &) Daylight)	"	"	Campbell	a.w. passengers, <i>ibid.</i>
June 1716	Globe	(Ireland)	"		a.w. 29 passengers, O'Brien, 'Boston', <u>Jn.A.L.H.S.</u> , XIII.
July 1716	Sizargh	Waterford	Philadelphia	Cowman	a.w. over 70 passengers, Bolton, <u>Scotch-Irish</u> , 270.

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & sources
Aug. 1717	Globe	Dublin	Boston	Dowglass	a.w. 14 male servants, ibid., Appendix I.
	Friends) Goodwill)	Larne & Dublin	"	Gooding	a.w. 52 passengers, ibid.
Sept. 1717	Sisargh	Dublin	Philadelphia	Cowman	a.w. about 100 passengers, Bolton, <u>Scotch-Irish</u> , 270.
1718	—	"	Boston	Gibbs	a.w. "Irish & Scotch" servants, ibid., Appendix I.
	Mary Anne	"	"	Watt	a.w. servants, ibid.
	Dolphin	"	"	Mackay	70 t., a.w. 34 servants, <u>C.O. 5/848.</u>
	Beginning	Waterford	"	Rogers	30 t., a.w. passengers & servants, ibid.
Aug 1818	Elizabeth) & Margaret)	Dublin	Philadelphia	—	a.w. 150 passengers after 12 weeks, Bolton <u>Scotch-Irish</u> , 270.
	—	Cork	"	—	a.w. 50 passengers, ibid.
1719	Globe	Dublin	Boston	Mackay	a.w. servants, ibid., Appendix I.
	Prince Frederick of Whitehaven)	"	"	Hicks	Advert. 180 t., agent in Belfast, <u>D.C.</u> Feb. 1718/19.
1720	Essex	Dublin & Londonderry	New England	Peat	a.w. 100 passengers, pirated, Donovan, <u>Irish in Mass.</u> , 79
	(3 vessels)	Cork	Boston		a.w. passengers brought over by Robt. Temple, O'Brien. <u>A hidden phase</u> , 309-11.

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & sources
Jan. 1725	Esther	Dublin	Virginia	McCreight	88 t., a.w. 136 passengers with "wearing apparel & utensils", <u>C.O. 5/1442</u> .
June 1725	Tucker) Galley)	"	"	Dickie	150 t., a.w. 115 servants, <u>ibid.</u>
Oct. 1728	Thomas	Cork	New York	Barlet	70 t., a.w. 84 servants, <u>C.O. 5/1224</u> .
June 1728	Happy) Return)	Dublin	"	Postgates	70 t., a.w. 67 servants, <u>ibid.</u>
" "	George &) John (Ann?))	"	"	Adamson	180 t., a.w. 100 servants, <u>ibid.</u>
1728	(4 vessels)	Sligo	North America		Ready to take emigrants, <u>T.S.P.I., 52-3</u> .
1729	Freedom of) Whitehaven)	Dublin	Philadelphia	Nicholson	Advert. 160 t., to sail in Apr., <u>F.D.J., Feb. 1728/9</u>
Apr. 1729	Eagle	"	New York	Bloom	100 t., a.w. 55 servants, <u>C.O. 5/1224</u> .
Apr. 1729	Diligence	Dublin	Virginia	—	Whitehaven collier, a.w. "a handful of passengers", Davis, <u>Shipping</u> , 359-61.
Apr. 1729	Elisabeth	"	Philadelphia	—	s.w. 220 servants & passengers, <u>D.G.</u>
May "	Sizargh	"	"	Cowman	Advert, 180 t., to sail in July, <u>F.D.J.</u>
	Phoenix	"	"	Piper	Advert, 120 t., 80 max. to sail in July, <u>D.I.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & sources
June 1729	Mary	Dublin	Philadelphia	Tennant	Advert., 120 t., 60 max., <u>D.I.</u>
July "	Richmond	"	"	Richmond	Advert. for a few passengers, 140 t., <u>D.I.</u>
Aug "	Nathaniel) & John)	Londonderry & Dublin	Pennsylvania	—	arrived in Dublin with 150 passengers, Aug. <u>D.G.</u>
June "	Joseph &) Benjamin)	Dublin	Philadelphia	Fellows	Advert. 80 t., <u>F.D.J.</u>
" "	Prince) Frederick)	"	Philadelphia & West Indies	Lutwidge	Advert., 160 t., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Aug "	Mary of) London)	"	Philadelphia	Sanders	Advert. 120 t., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Nov "	Succession) of Liverpool)	"	"	Hill	Advert. 140 t., <u>F.D.J.</u>
	Charming) Sally)	"	"	Sandwith	a.w. passengers, <u>D.I.</u> Oct. 1729
May-Oct 1729	George &) Ann)	"	Newcastle	—	Charles Clinton's voyage; 100 deaths, <u>Penn. Mag.</u> XXVI, 112-14.
	—	Dublin	North America	Rymer	Passengers landed at Cape Cod, O'Hanlon, <u>History</u>
Sept 1729	Hibernia of) Waterford)	Waterford & Dublin	Philadelphia	—	s.w. passengers, <u>D.G.</u>
1730 Jan	Catherine	Dublin	North Carolina	Pagan	Advert., 90 t., <u>D.I.</u> Jan. 1729/30

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & sources
1730 Feb	Freedom	Dublin	Pennsylvania	Nicholson	Advert., 160 t., to sail in May, <u>D.W.J.</u> , Feb. 1729/30.
	Dove	"	New England or Nova Scotia	Sterling	s.w. convicts, Butler, "Convicts", 22.
1730 Oct.	Warwick } Calley }	Dublin	Bath Town, N.C.	Acock	Advert., 150 t., <u>D.W.J.</u>
" "	Nightingale } of Whitehaven }	"	Madeira & Virginia	—	s.w. convicts, <u>D.C.</u>
1731 Jan	Phoenix	"	Philadelphia	Wilcocks	Advert., 120 t., 80 max., to sail at end of Feb. <u>D.W.J.</u>
Mar	Sisargh	"	Madeira & Philadelphia	Cowman	Advert., 200 t., 100 max., <u>D.W.J.</u> ; s.w. provisions & 96 passengers, <u>D.C.</u> , Apr.
May	Mary & Betty }	"	North Carolina	Rowan	Advert., 200 t., <u>D.W.J.</u>
Aug	Phoenix	"	Philadelphia & West Indies	Wilcocks	Advert., 120 t., 6 guns, 80 max., <u>P.O.</u> 2nd voyage this year
Sept	—	"	Antigua & Jamaica	—	Advert for passengers, <u>D.W.J.</u>
Oct	Apollo	Cork	Nevis	Tobin	Carried Maurice Berkeley, family & servant, Oliver, <u>Caribbeana</u> , V, 1.
1732 Jan	Warren of } Philadelphia)	Dublin	Philadelphia	Ramsay	Advert., 110 t., <u>P.O.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & sources
1732 Feb	Freedom	Dublin	Philadelphia	Nicholson	Advert., Nicholson's 14th voyage to America, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Mary &) Betty)	"	"	Trumball	Advert., 12 guns, <u>F.D.J.</u>
May	Phoenix	"	"	Dunn	Advert., <u>P.O.</u>
June	Betty &) Hannah)	Cork	New York	Owen	65 t., a.w. 25 servants, <u>C.O. 5/1225</u>
July/	Olive)	Dublin	Philadelphia	Shaw	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Aug	Branch)	"	New York	"	" 70 t., <u>ibid.</u>
	Martha &) Elisabeth)	"	Boston, New London	King	"
Sept	Ann &) Elizabeth)	"	New York	Phenix	35 t., a.w. 12 tons provisions & 57 servants, <u>C.O. 5/1225</u>
1733 Apr	Meridian	"	Philadelphia	Berwick	Advert., 130 tons, agent in Co. Longford, <u>F.D.J.</u>
May	Penn Galley	"	"	Willcocks	Advert., new ship, 240 t., 12 guns, <u>P.O.</u>
Aug	Elizabeth	"	North Carolina	Dick	Advert., 100 t., <u>D.G.</u>
1734 Jan/	Penn Galley	"	Philadelphia	Kirk	Advert., <u>P.O.</u>
Feb.					
Feb	Supply of) Philadelphia)	"	"	Weldon	Advert., new ship, 120 t., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Aug	Exchange)	"	"	Conyers	Advert., 95 t., <u>F.D.J.</u>
	Neptune)	"	"	Morgan	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
	Charming Molly)	"	"	West	Advert., <u>P.O.</u>
	Eagle)	"	"	Roberts	Advert., "Ship has been in trade for a no. of years" <u>D.G.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1735 Feb	Penn Galley	Dublin	Philadelphia	Kirk	Advert., agents in Wexford, Wicklow, Ross, Drogheda, etc., <u>P.O.</u>
Mar	Warren	"	"	Fielding	110 t., advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Dec	George of Dublin	"	North Carolina	Cumming	Sailing stopped, <u>D.E.P.</u>
	Exchange	"	Philadelphia	Conyers	Advert., <u>D.E.P.</u>
	Elizabeth & Francis	"	"	Stokes	Advert., <u>ibid.</u>
1736	Neptune	"	"	Anderson	Advert., <u>P.O.</u>
Aug	Prudent Hannah	Cork	Boston & Philadelphia	Arnold	a.w. 120 passengers incl. Ellard family etc., O'Brien, Boston, <u>Jn. Am.</u> , <u>Jn.E.S. XIII</u> , Crimmins, <u>Miscellany.</u>
	Orange	Dublin	Perthamboy or New York	Seabrook	Advert., <u>D.G.</u>
Aug	Bootle	Cork	Boston	Boyd	a.w. 19 convicts to be taken to Virginia, Crimmins, <u>Miscellany.</u>
1737 May	William	Dublin	New York	Cornell	45 t., a.w. 30 servants, their baggage & utensils, <u>C.O. 5/1225</u>
June	Garret	"	"	Hill	20 t., a.w. 50 servants, <u>ibid.</u>
Aug	Dublin Merchant	"	Virginia	Catherwood	60 t., a.w. 54 servants (probably convicts), <u>C.O. 5/1445</u> , Stock, <u>Proceedings, V, 605-7</u>
	Lawson	"	Philadelphia	Lowe	Advert., new ship, <u>D.G.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1737	Lucy	Dublin	Philadelphia & Virginia	Bowman	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
	Hibernia	"	West Indies	Lyons	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
1738	New England Feb Merchant	Cork	Boston	O'Bryan	Advert., 130 t., 10 guns <u>P.O.</u>
Apr	Cockermouth	Dublin	Virginia, Maryland & Pennsylvania	Patton	Advert., newly rebuilt, to sail first to Lough Swilly, agents in Limerick, Monaghan, Donegal, etc. 250 t. <u>F.D.J.</u>
May	Crane	Dublin	Virginia	Kerr	40 t., s.w. 53 passengers, <u>C.O. 5/1444</u>
	Garret	"	New York	Hill	20 t., s.w. 52 servants & baggage, <u>C.O. 5/1226</u>
	William & Sarah	"	"	Haviland	60 t., s.w. 20 servants, ibid.
Sept	Endeavour	"	Boston	Beard	s.w. passengers & servants; lost with all crew off Nova Scotia, <u>D.D.P.</u> , May 1739
Aug	Appleby	Dublin	Virginia	Hornby	s.w. 15 convicts, Stock, <u>Proceedings</u> , <u>V</u> 606 n.
	George	"	North America		s.w. convicts, ibid.
1739 Mar	Garret	"	New York	Hill	s.w. passengers, <u>D.D.P.</u>
Apr	Catherine	"	Madeira & Philadelphia	Crump	s.w. beef & passengers, <u>D.D.P.</u>
May	William & Mary	"	"	McGowery	s.w. passengers & provisions, ibid.

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
July	Trial	Dublin	Madeira & Philadelphia	Crump	Carrying passengers & servants, ran aground near Egg Harbour, <u>B.E.P.</u>
Aug	Revolution	Dublin & Waterford	Virginia	Rickey	s.v. convicts (13 from Waterford), <u>D.D.P.</u>
1740 June	Southwell	Dublin	Virginia	Cullen	s.v. beef & convicts, <u>D.H.L.</u>
1741 Feb	Clinton	(Ireland)	Virginia	Matthews	a.w. 48 servants, <u>C.O. 5/1446</u> .
Mar	Hibernia	Dublin	Maryland	Sears	s.v. 22 convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u> , Stock, <u>Proceedings, V</u> 605-7.
Apr	Elisabeth) & Ann)	Waterford	Virginia	Davis	Servants on board mutinied and ran ship aground on coast of France, <u>F.D.J.</u>
May	Raynundo	"	New York	Powers	55 t., a.v. 18 servants, <u>C.O. 5/1226</u> .
Apr	William	Dublin	"	Gill	120 t., a.v. 6 servants, <u>ibid.</u>
May	Charming Molly	"	"	Molson	50 t., a.v. 60 servants, <u>ibid.</u>
1741 June	True Briton	Cork	"	Long	60 t., a.v. 30 passengers, <u>C.O. 5/1226</u> .
"	Catharine	Dublin	Philadelphia	Jenkins	s.v. linen cloth & 120 passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u>
July	Pensbury of London }	"	Maryland	Cuzzins	s.v. passengers, etc. <u>F.D.J.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
July	Trial	Dublin	Madeira & Philadelphia	Crump	Carrying passengers & servants, ran aground near Egg Harbour, <u>B.E.P.</u>
Aug	Revolution	Dublin & Waterford	Virginia	Rickey	s.w. convicts (13 from Waterford), <u>D.D.P.</u>
1740 June	Southwell	Dublin	Virginia	Cullen	s.w. beef & convicts, <u>D.H.L.</u>
1741 Feb	Clinton	(Ireland)	Virginia	Matthews	a.w. 48 servants, <u>C.O. 5/1446</u> .
Mar	Hibernia	Dublin	Maryland	Sears	s.w. 22 convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u> , Stock, <u>Proceedings, V</u> 605-7.
Apr	Elisabeth) & Ann)	Waterford	Virginia	Davis	Servants on board mutinied and ran ship aground on coast of France, <u>F.D.J.</u>
May	Raynardo	"	New York	Powers	55 t., a.w. 18 servants, <u>C.O. 5/1226</u> .
Apr	William	Dublin	"	Gill	120 t., a.w. 6 servants, <u>ibid.</u>
May	Charming Molly	"	"	Holson	50 t., a.w. 60 servants, <u>ibid.</u>
1741 June	True Briton	Cork	"	Long	60 t., a.w. 30 passengers, <u>C.O. 5/1226</u> .
"	Catherine	Dublin	Philadelphia	Jenkins	s.w. linen cloth & 120 passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u>
July	Pensbury of London	"	Maryland	Cuzzins	s.w. passengers, etc. <u>F.D.J.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
July	Benguin	Cork	Philadelphia	Morris	a.w. "a parcel of likely servants", <u>P.G.</u>
Sept	Southwell	Dublin	Virginia	Codd (Cood)	s.w. provisions & convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Oct	Industry	Cork	New York	Thwaite	70 t., a.w. 78 servants & provisions, <u>C.O. 5/1226</u>
"	Two Friends	Dublin	Virginia	Hagan	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u> , July, a.w. 43 passengers, <u>C.O. 5/1444</u>
1742 Jan	Charming Peggy	Dublin	Maryland	Harper	s.w. passengers, etc. <u>F.D.J.</u>
Feb	Vulcan of Rhode Island	"	"	Johnson	s.w. convicts, etc. <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Southwell	"	Virginia	Cood	30 t., a.w. 27 passengers, <u>C.O. 5/1444</u>
Mar	Whitehaven Galley	"	"	Jackson	s.w. convicts, etc. <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Milford Factor	"	Maryland	Stokes	s.w. passengers & servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>
May	Walpole of Whitehaven	"	Virginia or Maryland	Goodman	Advert, 200 t., for convicts, passengers & servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Aug	Santry	"	Maryland	Basnet	sailed in Aug.; a.w. 73 convicts, Nov., Stock, <u>V</u> 605-7
Sept	Molly of Whitehaven	"	"	Bowman	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
1743 Apr	George	"	Virginia	Wilson	s.w. 64 convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u> ; a.w. 70 servants, June, <u>C.O. 5/1444</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1743 June	Jeremy	Dublin	Philadelphia	Webb	s.w. "brandy, beef & passengers" <u>D.C.</u> ; "beef, servants & haberdashery", <u>F.D.J.</u>
Aug	Sarah of) Appledore)	"	Madeira & Philadelphia	Burrell	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Sept	Revolution Charming Peggy }	" "	Virginia North America	Wright Harper	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u> s.w. convicts, Stock, <u>Proceedings, V, 605-7</u>
1744 July	George	"	Virginia	Wilson	a.w. 60 passengers, <u>C.O. 5-1444</u>
Sept	Martha	"	Philadelphia	Nutt	s.w. servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Draper	"	Madeira & Philadelphia	Basnet	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Nov	Mary &) Betty	"	Virginia	Lambe	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
	Ruth	"	Madeira & Virginia	Barret	s.w. servants, <u>P.O.</u>
	—	"	Philadelphia	Whitepate	a.w. 140 servants & passengers, <u>P.O.</u> Jan 1744/5
1745 Mar	George of) Philadelphia)	"	Philadelphia	Edwards	Advert., 140 t., <u>D.C.</u>
Apr	Duke of Cumberland	"	Virginia	Wilson	Advert., 200 t., 20 guns, Letter of Marque, <u>D.C.</u> a.w. 114 servants & 2 passengers, 160 t., July, <u>C.O. 5/1444</u>
"	Ann & Frances	"	Madeira & Virginia	Wilson	s.w. convicts & ships' provisions, <u>F.D.J.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
Aug	Virginia Merchant George	Dublin "	Virginia Madeira & Pennsylvania	Hutchinson Amble	Advert., 300 t., 8 guns, 30 men, <u>D.C.</u> Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
1746 May	Martin Galley	Dublin	Virginia	Caussier	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u> , Feb.; a.w. 85 convicts & 10 servants, 140 t., <u>C.O.</u> <u>5/1444</u>
Nov	Peter & Mary Charming Molly	"	"	Pitton	50 t., a.w. 32 servants, ibid.
		"	South Carolina	Castletont	s.w. "ship's provisions for passengers & crew", <u>F.D.J.</u>
	Mary & Betty Dublin's Prize	"	Virginia Pennsylvania	Lamb Rankin	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u> Advert., ibid.
1746	Concord	Dublin	South Carolina	Young	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
	George	"	Pennsylvania	Ambler	s.w. servants, <u>D.C.</u>
	Rebecca	"	Virginia & Maryland	Burke	specially chartered by the government for convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
	Buryale	"	Pennsylvania	Anderson	s.w. passengers & servants ibid.
	Downville	"	Maryland	Young	s.w. convicts, ibid.
1747	Sally	"	Pennsylvania	Boggs	Advert., 12 guns, new ship, <u>F.D.J.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1747	Friendship	Dublin	Cape Breton	Cosgrave	Advert., <u>D.C.</u>
Apr	Buryale	"	Pennsylvania	—	sailed Feb., a.w. 20 women servants, <u>Penn.Mag.</u> XXVI, 287
"	Donville	"	"	Young	s.w. servants, <u>P.O.</u>
Mar	Queensbury	"	Virginia	Smith	85 t., a.w. 2 passengers, <u>C.O. 5/1445</u>
Aug	Dolphin	"	"	Basnet	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
1748	Pembroke	"	Pennsylvania	Burrows	Advert, new ship, men servants, <u>D.W.J.</u>
	Dolphin	"	America	Snead	s.w. convicts, <u>ibid.</u>
1749 Mar	Britannia	"	Virginia	Bedlington	List of servants, <u>F.D.J.</u> , Mar.; 200 t., a.w. 34 "convicts or passengers" June, <u>C.O. 5/1445</u>
"	Jenny Sally	"	Philadelphia	McClelland	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Amity's Goodwill	"	Virginia	Colley	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Apr.	Little George	"	"	Byrn	s.w. convicts, Apr. <u>F.D.J.</u> ; a.w. 33 convicts, July, 40 t., <u>C.O. 5/1444</u>
"	Peggy	"	Philadelphia	Montgomery	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Philadelphia	"	Boston	Stinton	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
June	Martha	Limerick	Boston	Briard	Advert., Pierson, owner, <u>M.J.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1749 July	Sally	Dublin	Pennsylvania	McNeale	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Channing) Hannah)	Cork	"	Kiltren	s.w. servants, <u>M.J.</u>
Sept	Fancy	Cork	Pennsylvania	Clegg	s.w. servants, <u>M.J.</u>
1750 Feb	Eagle	"	Boston or Cape Breton	Belson	s.w. servants, <u>M.J.</u>
"	Catherine	Waterford	Pennsylvania	Henderson	Advert, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Mar	George	Dublin	"	Gass	" "
"	Dove	Cork & Dublin	"	Macarty	s.w. servants, <u>M.J.</u>
Apr	Mary	Limerick	St. John's Newfoundland	Lugger	s.w. passengers & fishermen, <u>M.J.</u>
July	Martha	"	Boston	Briard	Advert, <u>M.J.</u>
Aug	Nancy	Dublin	Pennsylvania	Troy	s.w. servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Sept	Boyne	"	"	Ash	s.w. servants listed in <u>F.D.J.</u> 8-11 Sept.
"	—	"	North America	Robinson	s.w. servants listed in <u>F.D.J.</u> 8-11 Sept.
1751 Mar	Peggy	"	Halifax & Pennsylvania	Dunn	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Holderness	"	Madeira & Pennsylvania	Cuthbert	s.w. "transports & servants", <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Horner	"	"	Slade	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u> , Mar.; 46 servants listed, <u>D.C.</u> 7-11 May.
Apr	Sally	"	Pennsylvania	Dunbar	s.w. servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1751 May	Polly	Dublin	Virginia	Troy	Advert., F.D.J., May; a.w. 80 servants, 60 t., <u>Oct., C.O. 5/1444</u>
"	Betsy & Rachel	"	North Carolina	Riddle	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Oct	Royal Catherine	"	New Jersey	Anderson	a.w. 22 servants, 20 t., <u>C.O. 5/1035</u>
Nov	Polly	Cork	Virginia	Ivy	90 t., a.w. 50 servants of whom 5 were convicts, <u>C.O. 5/1446</u>
June	Jenny & Sally	Dublin	Pennsylvania	Stewart	s.w. servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>
1752 Apr	Sarah & Rebecca	"	Philadelphia	Eaton	Advert., agents in King's Co. & Athlone, <u>F.D.J.</u>
May	Burwell	"	Virginia	Causier	170 t., a.w. 50 servants, <u>C.O. 5/1444</u>
June	Brigansa	"	Madeira & Virginia	Lyon	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
	Debby	"	Madeira & Pennsylvania	Stout	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
June	Brothers	"	Halifax, Nova Scotia, & Piscataway, New England	Ryan	Advert., new ship, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Oct	(Sloop)	Cork	?	Malcolm	Carrying "Coles, Butter & Servants" Shipwrecked off Nova Scotia, Letter, <u>F.D.J.</u> , 19-23 Dec.

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & sources
1753 Feb	Lovely Mary	Dublin	Madeira & Barbadoes	Glover	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Mar	Polly	"	Nova Scotia & Philadelphia	Troy	s.v. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Europa	Sligo	Philadelphia	Hatton	Advert., male servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>
June	Recovery	Dublin	Madeira & Wilmington, North Carolina	Jones	s.v. servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>
July	Dorset Galley	"	Philadelphia	Rankin	s.v. passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Cambridge of Lynn	"	North & South Carolina	Farthing	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Oct	Charming Sally	"	South Carolina	Spencer	Advert., "to go within 20 miles of the Irish settlement", <u>F.D.J.</u>
Dec	Ruby	Cork	Jamaica	Mounslow	s.v. passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u>
1754 Jan	Burwell	Dublin	Virginia	Causier	s.v. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Feb	William & Mary	"	Philadelphia	Osborne	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Apr	Bachelor	"	New England	—	s.v. servants & convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Sept	Alexander	"	Newcastle	McFun	s.v. servants, <u>P.G.</u>
"	Industry	"	West Indies, N. & S. Carolina	Farthing	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1754 Oct	Tryton	Cork	Virginia	Mullen	120 t., a.w. 32 servants, <u>C.O. 5/1447</u>
1755 Jan	Burwell	Dublin	Virginia	Causier	a.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u> , Jan; a.w. 40 servants, Mar., <u>C.O. 5/1447</u>
Apr	Sally	"	Halifax & Nova Scotia	Moore	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
June	Shark	"	N. Carolina	Clough	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Jane	"	Philadelphia	Stewart	a.w. servants, <u>P.G.</u>
July	Bumbury	Dublin & Killala	N. Carolina	Spring	Agents in Ballina, Castlebar, Castlecomer, Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Boyle	Youghal	Philadelphia	Greestack	a.w. servants., <u>P.G.</u>
"	Earl of Holder- ness	Dublin	"	Simpson	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Polly	"	Virginia	Troy	a.w. convicts, July, <u>F.D.J.</u> a.w. servants, Sept, <u>P.G.</u>
Sept	Industry	Cork	"	Miller	150 t., a.w. butter & 7 servants, <u>C.O. 5/1447</u>
"	Duke of Dorset	Dublin	N. Carolina	?	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Apr	Betty	Cork	Virginia	?	90 t., a.w. 9 servants, <u>C.O. 5/1447</u>
1756 Jan	Burwell	Dublin	Virginia	Wilson	Advert, for "all the city convicts & others", <u>F.D.J.</u> a.w. 25 "passengers", Apr., <u>C.O. 5/1447</u>
	Flag	"	"	"	
	Frederick	"	"	"	

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1756 Jan	Friendship	Dublin	Cape Fear N. Carolina	Campbell	Advert.; in Mar. with servants on board put into Kinsale damaged by gale, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Feb	Earl of Holderness }	"	Philadelphia	Simpson	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Apr	Polly	"	"	Troy	s.v. servants, <u>P.G.</u>
"	Europa	"	N. Carolina	Cook	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
June	Sally	"	New York	Moore	s.v. passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u>
June	Johnson	"	Antigua	Lesly	s.v. passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Oct	Union	"	Philadelphia	Mesler	Forced to put in at Cork damaged by storm; passengers & servants on board, <u>F.D.J.</u>
1757	James & William }	Dublin	Jamaica	Brown	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u> , Nov.
1758 Jan	Brayton	"	Virginia	Harrison	s.v. convicts, <u>P.O.</u>
Aug	Hibernia	"	Philadelphia & New York	Troy	Advert. for passengers & convicts, latter refused later, <u>P.O.</u>
"	Ann & Rebecca)	"	Antigua	Wilson	Advert. for Protestant servants between 16 & 35 for 4 years; carried letter of marque & guns, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Sept	Eagle	"	Virginia	Campbell	s.v. convicts, <u>P.O.</u>
"	King Frederick	"	New York	Ashburn	Advert., taking provisions for H.M. forces, room for passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1759 June	Hibernia	Dublin	Philadelphia	Troy	Advert. for passengers & servant girls, <u>P.O.</u>
1761 Mar	Crosbie	"	Virginia	Curry	s.w. convicts, <u>P.O.</u>
Apr	Duke of Tuscany	Waterford	Newfoundland	Power	s.w. 211 on board, 18 guns, attacked by French privateer, all but 5 drowned, <u>D.C.</u> 25-7 May
Sept	James	Galway	New York	Saunders	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
1762 May	Sarah	Dublin	Philadelphia	Harvey	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
June	Mary	"	New York	Mears	" for passengers, redemptioners & servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>
1763 Feb	Galley	Sligo	'The famous city of Philadelphia'	Hamilton	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Ann	Cork	Newfoundland	Williams	s.w. passengers, <u>C.E.P.</u>
Mar	Catherine	"	"	Butler	s.w. passengers, <u>C.E.P.</u>
Apr	Sarah	Dublin	Philadelphia	Dogherty	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Apr	Seville	"	N. Carolina	Elliot	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
May	Lion	"	"	Bowen	" "
June	King George	Sligo & Killibegs	Philadelphia & Newcastle	Hamilton	" "
July	George	Dublin	Virginia	Bowen	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Sept	Halifax	"	Philadelphia	Wills	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Darby	"	New York	Boardman or Bergman	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u> ; s.w. passengers, Oct., <u>Freeman's Jn.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1763 Oct	George of Dublin	Dublin	Philadelphia	Savage	a.v. 120 passengers after 13 weeks at sea, <u>H.E.N.J.</u> <u>V</u> , 245.
Dec	Dolphin	"	Virginia	Jackson	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
1764 June	Bourdeaux Yacht	"	Philadelphia	Lonergan	Advert. for passengers, but no convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
July	Prince George	Galway	New York	Askev	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Aug.	Sligo	Sligo	Philadelphia	Patterson	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Sept	George	Dublin	New York	Wills	" "
"	Hannah	Cork	Halifax & Boston	—	a.v. 22 passengers, Donovan, <u>Irish in Mass.</u> , 33.
Oct	Aurora	Dublin	Virginia	McCulloh	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Dec	Freemason	Cork	Boston	—	a.v. 21 passengers, Donovan, <u>Irish</u> , 33.
	Peace	Cork	Maryland	Pearson	a.v. 32 servants, <u>C.O. 5/750</u>
	Two Sisters	"	"	Johnstoun	a.v. 23 servants, <u>ibid.</u>
1765 Mar	Charming Bally	Dublin	Philadelphia	Chapman	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u> , arrived in Sept. after 20 weeks, <u>Public Prompter & Irish Journal</u> , 1 Nov 1765.
"	Neptune Galley	"	"	Murphy	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1765 May	King of Prussia	Dublin	Philadelphia	Brown	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
June	Anne	"	Boston & Halifax	Scott	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
July	Prince George }	Galway	New York	Askev	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	The Collector's Mistake }	Dublin	"	Barnaby	s.w. passengers & 20 servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Aug	Nancy	Sligo	Philadelphia	McCadden	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Nov	Polly & Charlotte	Dublin	S. Carolina	Dishington	" "
Nov	Dolphin	"	Carolina	Marshall	" "
Dec	Angelina	Cork	S. Carolina	Stewart	30 t., a.w. 36 passengers, <u>C.O. 5/511</u>
1766 Jan	Oxford	Dublin	Maryland	McClellan	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Mar	Betty & Peggy	"	Philadelphia	Power	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u> ; 6 indented servants escaped, <u>D.M.</u> Apr. 15-19.
"	Hugh & James	"	"	_____	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Apr	Neptune	"	"	Murphy	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u> ; s.w. servants, <u>D.M.</u>
May	Elisabeth & Mary }	"	"	Graham	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Red-head Galley }	Cork	Pensacola, Florida	_____	a.w. Lt.-Gov. Browne & other passengers, <u>D.M.</u> 20 - 24 May.
June	Phoebe	Dublin	New York	Devereux	Advert., <u>Freeman's Jn.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1766 July	Countess of Donegal }	Dublin	New York	Strawbridge	s.w. passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Aug	Charlotte	"	"	Doyle	s.w. passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Prince George }	Galway	"	Askew	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Sept	John & Mary }	Dublin	Philadelphia	Johnston	s.w. passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Youart	"	"	Boose	" " "
"	Hicks	Dublin	Virginia	Smyth	s.w. 92 men & 17 women convicts, <u>D.M.</u>
Nov	Willnott	Cork	Boston	—	s.w. 72 servants, Donovan, <u>Irish</u> , 37.
Dec	—	Dublin	East Florida	Ford	convicts on board, <u>D.M.</u>
1767 Feb	Countess of Donegal }	"	New York	Houston	Advert. for passengers, but no servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>
	—	Waterford	Philadelphia	—	s.w. servants who were sold at £30 to £35 each, <u>F.D.J.</u> 17-21 Mar.
May	—	Dublin	Newfoundland	—	s.w. 170 Irish labourers & fishermen, <u>M.C.</u>
June	Ruby	"	Virginia	Smyth	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Caesar	"	America	Smith	s.w. more than 100 convicts, <u>D.M.</u>
July	Catherine & Nancy	"	Philadelphia & New York	Ashburner	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1767 July	Countess of Donagal	Dublin	New York	King	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u> 2nd voyage
	Ranger	"	Baltimore & Philadelphia	Forsyth	Advert., July, <u>F.D.J.</u> ; took convicts, Sept. <u>D.M.</u>
Sept	Catherine	"	"	Wilson or Butler	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Oct	Ann & Margaret	Cork	Boston	Atkins	a.w. 50 servants, <u>M.C.</u> ; Donovan, <u>Irish</u> , 38.
"	Prince Royal	Dublin	Philadelphia	Eskeldson	Advert., for passengers, redemptioners & servants, <u>D.M.</u>
1768 Mar	Henry Packet	Dublin	Philadelphia	Seymour	New ship, 300 t., sailed Mar. <u>F.D.J.</u> ; a.w. 152 passengers & servants, May, <u>D.M.</u>
"	Hero	"	Virginia	Walby	Advert., 300 t., sw. convicts, May, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Apr	Hawk	"	Philadelphia	Mathews	Advert., 160 t., <u>F.D.J.</u>
May	Countess of Donagal	"	New York	King	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	America Soldier	Cork	East Florida	Holland	a.w. provisions & passengers, <u>C.O. 5/573</u> .
June	Earl of Chatham	Dublin	Philadelphia	Woolsey	Advert., 200 t., passengers, but no servants or convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
July	Industry	"	"	Brown	a.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1768 July	Nancy	Dublin	Baltimore	Hudson	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Aug	Newry Packet	"	Philadelphia	Montgomery	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u> ; searched before sailing, Sept., convicts & 3 deserters on board, <u>D.M.</u> 2nd sailing this year
	—	"	Newfoundland	—	"190 natives of Ireland going as settlers", <u>B.W.N.L.</u> , 18 Aug.
Sept	Lovely Jane	"	New York	Chapman	Advert., 200 t., no servants accepted, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Oct	Two Brothers	"	Philadelphia	Duncan	Advert., 150 t., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Industry	Limerick	Virginia	Loves	Advert., <u>L.C. (Limerick Chronicle)</u>
Dec	Earl of Chatham	Dublin	Philadelphia	Woolsey	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u> , 2nd sailing this year.
1769 Feb	Elizabeth & Mary	"	"	Kirkpatrick	Advert., for passengers, but no servants, <u>D.M.</u>
"	Ann & Margaret	Cork	Maryland	Maybury	Advert., <u>C.E.P.</u>
"	King George	"	Philadelphia	Dunn	Advert., <u>ibid.</u>
Mar	Countess of Donegal	Dublin	New York	Pin	Advert. "gentlemen passengers", but no servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1769 Mar	Elizabeth	London & Cork	Nova Scotia	Goodfellow	a.w. Mr. Mackenzie, H.M. Victualler of Ships, <u>M.C.</u>
Apr	Hope	Liverpool & Dublin	America	Gilliot	a.w. convicts from Dublin, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Joanna	Cork	Newfoundland	McAulise	a.w. passengers, <u>C.E.P.</u>
"	Sally	"	Philadelphia	Keith	Advert., <u>C.E.P.</u>
"	Adventure	"	Penn. of Maryland	Adams	Advert., <u>C.E.P.</u>
	Ann	"	Newfoundland	Green	a.w. passengers, <u>ibid.</u>
	Irish Ginlet	"	"	Smith	" "
May	Dispatch	"	Philadelphia & Baltimore	Levit	Advert., <u>C.E.P.</u>
"	Two Brothers	Dublin	Philadelphia	Duncan	Advert., 160 t., no convicts accepted, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Diana	"	Maryland	Montgomery	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Charlotte	"	East Florida	Fleck	82 t., a.w. cargo & servants, <u>C.O. 5/573.</u>
June	Unity	"	Philadelphia	Story	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Friendship	"	New York	Stewart	Advert., <u>D.M.</u>
July	Eagle	"	Philadelphia	Conchran	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Earl of Chatham	"	"	Woolsey	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Betty	Cork	Maryland	McCay	Advert., <u>C.E.P.</u>
"	Henry Assistance	"	Newcastle & Philadelphia	Chevers	" "

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1769 July	Elizabeth & Mary	Cork	Philadelphia	Thompson	Advert., <u>C.E.P.</u>
"	Pallas	"	"	Montgomery	Advert. for passengers & male servants, <u>C.E.P.</u>
"	Elizabeth	"	"	Browne	s.w. passengers, <u>C.E.P.</u>
"	Swallow	Waterford	"	Bruce	a.w. servants, <u>P.G.</u>
Aug	Hawke	Dublin	"	Rogers	Advert., s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Penn. Farmer	Cork	"	Blair	s.w. passengers, <u>C.E.P.</u>
"	Phoebe	"	"	Davidson	Advert., <u>ibid.</u>
Sept	Sally	Dublin	Philadelphia	Spain	Advert. for passengers, but no servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Richard Penn	Cork	"	Moore	s.w. passengers, <u>C.E.P.</u>
"	King of Prussia	(Ireland)	Boston	Darley	a.w. 30 servants, <u>B.C.</u> (<u>Boston Chronicle</u>).
"	Countess of Donegal	Dublin	New York	Pin	Advert., <u>D.M.</u> 2nd voyage this year.
Oct	Hawk of Maryland	"	Maryland	Mathews	120 t., s.w. convicts, <u>T. 64/312</u>
"	Philadelphia	Cork	Newcastle or Philadelphia	Malcolm	Advert., <u>C.E.P.</u>
Dec	Rainbow	"	Baltimore	Tresher	Advert., <u>C.E.P.</u>
"	Nancy	"	Philadelphia	Dungee	Advert., <u>ibid.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & sources
1770 Jan	Maryland Merchant	Dublin	Philadelphia & Baltimore	Graham	Advert., F.D.J.; sw. convicts, <u>D.M.</u> , Feb.
	Elizabeth	"	New York	Conroy	Lost off Long Is. with all passengers & crew, <u>D.M.</u> 22-4 Feb.; 26-8 Apr.
Mar	Newry Packet	Newry	Philadelphia	Finlay	Advert., agent in Dublin, <u>F.D.J.</u>
July	Good Intent	Galway	N. Carolina	Herrington	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Countess of Donegal	Dublin	New York	Pim	s.w. passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Hercules	"	Philadelphia	Woolsey	sailed July; s.w. passengers & linen cloth, Nov., <u>D.M.</u>
"	Maryland Merchant	"	Philadelphia & Baltimore	Graham	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u> 2nd sailing this year
Aug	Hibernia	"	Maryland	Robertson	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Oct	Jupiter	Cork	Philadelphia	Macky	" "
1771 Feb	Newry Packet	Newry	Philadelphia	Robinson	Advert., agent in Dublin, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Mar	Carlisle	Dublin	Baltimore	Howard	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Apr	Ann & Margaret	Limerick	Quebec	Maybury	Advert., with special appeal for young men, <u>L.C.</u>
May	Polly	Dublin	Philadelphia	McCutcheon	s.w. passengers after 7 weeks, <u>D.M.</u>
Aug	Prince of Wales	"	New York	McKenzie	Advert., 2nd voyage, <u>D.M.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & sources
1771 Aug	Countess of Donegal	Dublin	New York	Pin	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Nancy	Newport Pratt	New York	Straughan	" "
Sept	Hibernia	Dublin	Virginia or Maryland	Robertson	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Hibernia	Galway	Maryland	Hayman	s.w. "a great number of passengers, redemptioners & servants", <u>F.D.J.</u>
Oct	Industry	Limerick	Virginia	Loves	Advert. for passengers, servants & convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Conolly	Dublin	Philadelphia	Miller	s.w. 70 p., totally wrecked on Welsh coast, <u>M.C.</u>
1772 Mar.	Hercules	"	Baltimore	Norwood	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
May	Mermaid	Limerick	"	Briscoe	Advert. for passengers, servants, convicts, <u>L.C.</u>
"	Hibernia	Galway	"	Hayman	s.w. over 100 passengers, servants, redemptioners, <u>F.D.J.</u>
June	Commerce	Limerick	"	Wilson	Advert., "Where there is liberty of conscience", <u>L.C.</u>
"	Swan	Cork	"	—	s.w. servants, probably, <u>D.M.</u>
Sept	Brigantine) Merchant)	Limerick	Virginia	Bucow	s.w. passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & sources
1772 Nov	Jenny	Limerick	Virginia	Welsh	Advert. for "male passengers, servants & redemptioners", <u>L.C.</u>
"	Grenada) Galley)	Dublin	Madeira & Grenada	Bushell	s.w. passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Dec	John	"	Baltimore	Snow	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Industrious Planter)	Galway	Savannah, Georgia	Henderson	s.w. " 77 passengers & redemptioners & a valuable cargo of beef, butter & linen cloth, <u>D.M.</u>
"	Dublin	Dublin	Maryland	Power	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
1773 Jan	Connolly	Dublin	Philadelphia	Cain	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Feb	Hercules	"	Baltimore	Norwood	Advert., 360 t., <u>F.D.J.</u> ; received 35 convicts, Apr; arrived June after 6 weeks, all well, <u>S.N.L.</u>
Mar	Etty	Limerick	"	Dixon	Advert., <u>L.C.</u>
Apr	Letitia	Dublin	"	Henderson	Advert., 180 t., <u>S.N.L.</u>
"	Hanna	"	New York	Henderson	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Penn	Cork	Newcastle or Philadelphia	McCadden	Advert., <u>C.E.P.</u>
"	Two Brothers	"	Baltimore	North	" "
May	Sarah	Dublin	Philadelphia	Corry	Advert., 250 t., <u>F.D.J.</u> ; s.w. passengers & French vines, 180 t., <u>T.64/312</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & Sources
1773 May	Venus	Dublin	Virginia	Oliffe	Advert., 200 t., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Havannah	"	New York	Hamilton	Arrived after 37 days with passengers, including some army officers, <u>N.C.</u>
"	Elizabeth	Cork	Maryland	McCurdy	Advert., <u>C.E.P.</u>
June	Hope	"	Florida	Casey	s.w. 21 passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Baltimore Packet	Dublin	Baltimore	Kennedy	s.w. passengers & servants <u>S.N.L.</u>
"	Hope	"	West Indies	Stewart	Advert., 250 t., <u>S.N.L.</u>
July	Molly & Sally	"	Baltimore	Slacom	Advert. for a few servants, <u>S.N.L.</u>
"	Generous) Planter)	Sligo	Virginia & Maryland	Cochran	sailed July, <u>F.D.J.</u> ; s.w. passengers & servants in 31 days, all well, <u>S.N.L.</u> Sept. 8-10.
Aug	Prince George	Galway	Philadelphia	Campbell	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Countess of Donagall	Dublin	New York	Reed	" "
"	Baltimore Packet	Liverpool & Dublin	Baltimore	Kennedy	Advert., 350 t., <u>S.N.L.</u> , 2nd sailing this year.
"	Friendly Trader	Cork	"	Thomas	Advert., <u>C.E.P.</u>
Sept	Jenny	"	Newcastle & Philadelphia	McIlwain	" "
"	America	Cork	Newcastle & Philadelphia	McCay	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & sources
1773 Sept	Needham	Cork	New York	Chevers	Advert., 500 t., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Thomas	Dublin	Jamaica	Baxter	Advert., 200 t., <u>S.N.L.</u>
"	Hope	"	South Carolina	Newtown	Advert., chartered by Hunt, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Dec	Sam	Liverpool & Dublin	Philadelphia	Borrows	Advert., <u>S.N.L.</u> (<u>Saunders News Letter</u>)
1774 Jan	Industry	Limerick	Virginia	Loves	Advert. for passengers, redemptioners, servants, convicts, <u>L.C.</u>
Feb	Potomac	Dublin	Baltimore	Carey	s.w. convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Mar	Hercules	"	"	Norwood	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Apr	Countess of Donagal	"	New York	Read	Advert., "genteel passengers" therefore no indentured servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>
July	Charlotte	Waterford	Philadelphia	Gaffney(?)	a.w. 110 passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u> 22-4 Sept.
Sept	Minerva	Dublin	"	Lindsey	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Isabella	"	New York	Robinson	Advert. for passengers, but no servants or convicts, <u>F.D.J.</u>
Oct	Industry	Dublin	Maryland	Woolsey	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Nov	Needham	Cork	New York	Chevers	After a voyage of seven weeks arrived Jan. 1775 with about 40 passengers. <u>Boston Post-Boy.</u>

Date	Vessel	Port	Destination	Master	Remarks & sources
1774	Mary	Limerick	Baltimore	Malone	a.w. passengers, etc. <u>L.C.</u> 28 Nov.
1775 Jan	Hercules	Dublin	Baltimore	Norwood	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
Mar	John	"	Virginia	Hunter	Advert. for passengers but no convicts or servants, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Duchess of Leinster	"	Baltimore	Cathrew	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>
June	John	Cork	Philadelphia	Blyth	a.w. servants, <u>P.J.</u> (<u>Pennsylvania Journal</u>)
July	Rogers	Dundalk	Baltimore	Phillips	Advert., agents in Newry, Monaghan, Drogheda, Dublin, etc. <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Charlotte	Waterford	Philadelphia	Gaffney	a.w. servants, <u>P.J.</u>
Aug	Hancock & Adams	Dublin	"	Forrest	Advert., new ship, <u>F.D.J.</u>
"	Recovery	"	"	McCullogh	Met at sea with 150 passengers, <u>F.D.J.</u> , 16-19 Sept.
Apr	Duke of Leinster	"	Baltimore	North	Advert., <u>F.D.J.</u>

APPENDIX DNOTES ON SOURCES

The length of the following bibliography is an indication not only of the thinness of records relating to the subject but of the many lines of research that had to be pursued in order to construct this thesis.

The most fruitful primary sources have definitely been the Calendars of State Papers and newspapers, both Irish and colonial. Unfortunately, to date, the most relevant of the Calendars, that relating to America and the West Indies, covers the colonial period only as far as 1738. The Dublin newspaper files, though incomplete, are fairly extensive, but provincial newspapers in Ireland before 1760 were very rare.* A first-hand study of colonial newspapers has had to be limited to the few very broken files held by the British Museum.

The Irish newspapers, if examined closely, yield a few graphic facts about emigration, including the transportation of convicts. The shipping advertisements in themselves are an invaluable source for the organisation of emigration. These newspapers, however, more than is usually the case, have severe limitations as sources of history. They were printed

largely for the readership of the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland; therefore, the usually scant coverage of domestic news is seldom concerned with the doings of the Catholic population. Moreover, emigration to America, unless it was on a massive scale, as from Ulster in the early 1770's, was evidently too commonplace to be considered as newsworthy as the latest multiple birth, destructive gale or armed robbery.

Of the manuscript sources that have been examined most have yielded only meagre amounts of information, but the colonial Naval Office Returns in the Public Record Office, London, are of some significance. These are, of course, far from complete and those for Pennsylvania, which received the greatest inflow of Irish immigrants, are missing. In any case, the Returns are more concerned with merchandise and passengers, unless there was little or no cargo, come either at the end of the lists or, one suspects, were omitted altogether.

The Quaker Records that are held by the Friends' Historical Library in Dublin no doubt contain some relevant information, particularly about commerce and shipping, but time did not allow an investigation into these.

The ever-growing sets of published colonial archives in the Institute of Historical Research vary in quality and usefulness. In general, they do not contain much material directly relating to Irish immigration. Something about this has been deduced from such lists as muster rolls and from the unique collection of newspaper extracts that forms part of the New Jersey archives. Little use could be made in a short time of Saunders' ten massive volumes of Colonial Records of North Carolina because they lack an index. Apart from some references to ordinary Irish immigrants they cover the activities of Arthur Dobbs as landowner and Governor in the colony. Beverley Fleet's Virginia Colonial Abstracts were discovered too late to be classified in the bibliography. Collected from far and wide with all the assiduity that characterises the amateur historian, these abstracts reveal the details that governed everyday life in colonial Virginia, noting, in particular, the headright system and indentured service.

Valuable and excellent though many of the secondary sources are in their own spheres, some historians have been found to be neither reliable nor accurate. No less than two American writers, for example, blandly state that Charles Carroll of Carrollton was a Protestant. The work of some others is marred by prejudice,

particularly when dealing with ethnic groups. Nevertheless, the publications of M.J. O'Brien and C.A. Hanna, if their respective biases are ignored, are useful compendiums of information. This thesis owes much to a knowledge of the indentured service system. This has come from many sources, but A.E. Smith's monograph, published in 1947, and an earlier study by K.F. Geiser with special reference to Pennsylvania have been of most use.

- * The Belfast News-Letter is arguably an exception; see R. L. Munter, A Hand-list of Irish Newspapers 1685 -1750, London, 1960.

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Trade between Ireland and North America and the business of
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Some Aspects of Emigration from Ireland

to Colonial North America

1660 - 1775

Abstract of thesis

for M.Litt.

Submitted by Audrey Lockhart, 1971

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Later in that century Protestant Dissenters, chiefly Quakers and Presbyterians of English or Scottish stock, provided a third trend. Mainly farmers and skilled operatives, they left Ireland partly because of Anglican persecution but more because of the attractions of colonial America. In the eighteenth century their numbers increased considerably, mainly owing to religious discrimination and recurrent economic crises in Ireland and the increasing lure of the colonies. Some paid for their passages; others travelled as servants, redemptioners or the beneficiaries of various plantation schemes.

At the same time the Irish servant trade was further augmented by the transportation of convicts beginning in 1703. Mostly petty offenders and vagrants, their numbers increased as more penalties

were commuted to transportation. A majority of them was Catholic.

Protestants certainly outnumbered Catholics among the free emigrants to eighteenth-century America and they had other advantages. The Catholics were mostly leaderless individuals and, although some of them were skilled or educated, all were handicapped because of their religion. The Protestants had come largely in family or community groups. With leadership and religious organisation they made a more effective contribution to colonial and revolutionary America.

A total figure for this Irish emigration is elusive but colonial muster rolls give some idea of its extent, while about half the revolutionary army was of Irish birth.

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